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GREEK COINS OF THE FIRST PERIOD.



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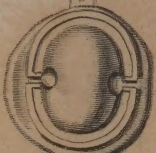


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3

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DELPHI?



4



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EPHESUS



5



G



CLAZOMENE



6

S

GELAS



7

S

SYRACUSE



8



G



PANTICAPÆUM



9

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PANORMUS?



10

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HERACLEA



THE
COIN COLLECTOR'S MANUAL,

OR GUIDE TO THE NUMISMATIC STUDENT IN THE FORMATION OF

A CABINET OF COINS:

COMPRISING

A GENERAL AND CRITICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
OF COINAGE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE
FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE;

WITH

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE COINAGES OF MODERN EUROPE,
MORE ESPECIALLY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BY H. NOEL HOLMES.

Author of "The Coins of England," and "The Coins and Medals
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WITH ABOVE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY ILLUSTRATIONS
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LONDON:

A. G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1853.

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DELPHI



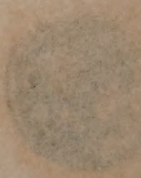
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PREFACE.

THE increasing interest, and even importance, of a scientific knowledge of antiquities becoming every day more thoroughly appreciated, and every branch of archæology being now cultivated by a host of earnest admirers, popular and condensed manuals of its various sections are rendered indispensably necessary to those who have not leisure to make each an especial object of study.

The knowledge of ancient coins and their associated sources has been justly termed by the celebrated Mionnet "*une magnifique branche d'archéologie*;" and it is to this branch (not overrated in the epithet of Mionnet), that the present work is devoted.

Since the time of Pinkerton, whose entertaining but now imperfect work has always been read with pleasure, no English treatise has appeared embracing the whole subject, which is not either too scanty to satisfy the curiosity of the educated inquirer, or too technical and voluminous.

It has, therefore, been the author's aim, in the present work, to adopt that *juste milieu* which shall embody information, sufficiently copious and accurate, and yet clear of technicalities and minutiae.

One principal advantage of the present volume consists in its strictly chronological arrangement. Beginning with the

first indications of positive coinage among the Greeks, and the development of the art effected by them, directly and indirectly, the student is led to the general state of Greek coinage at the decline of the kingdoms of the Macedonian empire. The Roman coinage follows, and after the fall of the empire, a sketch of that of modern Europe, in full detail as regards England. Indeed, the British coins of every reign, from the Anglo-Saxons to the present period, are adduced seriatim.

The principal matter has been so arranged as to present itself in a familiar *reading* form, instead of in dry catalogues; but, as the latter are essential for reference, they are given in a very complete series of indexes at the end of the volume.

Until the student has advanced far enough to require the great work of Eckhel—which contains, in a kind of Lexicon, whatever is known of ancient coins to a very recent period—the present volume will, it is believed, afford him all the instruction, entertainment, and general information, he is likely to require.

H. N. H.

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THE COIN COLLECTOR.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE INTEREST ATTENDING THE STUDY OF COINS.

MUCH has been well and eloquently written on the interest of the study of coins, from the time of Petrarch to the present day, and yet the number of those who have sought amusement and instruction in that pursuit, has been, and still remains, but small: perhaps because there has been, with one or two exceptions, no recent work taking a middle course between the voluminous treatises which catalogue every coin belonging to each class, whether generally interesting or not, and slight works which do not contain sufficient detail to satisfy the curiosity of those whose interest in the subject has been excited. However this may be, I will again attempt to state briefly, some of the points of greatest interest connected with numismatic study.

As historical records, coins have proved themselves of the highest importance, and even from the very infancy of the art, their valuable testimony commences. To the Greeks we owe, if not the invention, at all events, the very early general extension of a circulating medium in this form, and on their coins of the very earliest period we find records of the migrations, the mythology, and the manners and state of civilisation of this great and interesting people. For instance, on a gold coin of the most ancient fabric, we find the migration of the Phœcean colony to Asia Minor, recorded in an unmistakeable manner, by what has been termed a "speaking type." Stephen of Byzantium relates that the ships of these Greeks were, on their voyage, followed by an

immense number of seals, and it was, probably, on this account that the city they founded, received the name of Phoea, from $\Phi\omega\chi\eta$, the Greek name of a seal, and that they also adopted the seal as the type or badge of their coinage. These gold pieces of the Phoeans were well known among the Greek states and other neighbouring nations, and are frequently referred to by ancient authors; thus, from a single coin, we obtain the corroboration of the legend of the swarm of seals, of the remote epoch of the emigration in question, the coin being evidently of the earliest period—(most probably of the middle of the seventh century before the Christian era), and also contemporary evidence of the state of Greek art at that period, as exhibited in the execution of the rude but expressive image, which it exhibits in bold relief on one side only, the other bearing merely a deep rough indent, the mark of the punch by means of which the lump of gold was driven into the die—The deities of the Greek mythology are at first symbolised on the coins of a state, by certain objects which were sacred to them; as Ceres, by the ear of barley; Bacchus, by the bunch of grapes; Diana, by the stag; but as skill in art increased, we find noble idealised heads representing the deities themselves, and having peculiar and suitable features and characters. At a somewhat later period it became customary to place the name of the chief magistrate, for the time being, on the public money, and we have thus preserved to us many names of high interest. As, for instance, on a Theban coin we have the first four letters of the name of Epaminondas—the names being seldom written in full—and many others of equal importance and interest; such names occurring long before portraits of princes or magistrates, or inscriptions relative to them, are found on coins.

As affording interesting glimpses of mythology, I may remark, that some Athenian coins have, on the reverse, a poppy between ears of corn—both emblems of the worship of Ceres—and recalling, that in acknowledgment of the hospitality of Meganira, the wife of Celeus, she taught Triptolemus the art of agriculture. Poppies were also sacred to Ceres, not only as a symbol of abundance, as growing most profusely in the midst of corn-fields, but because Jupiter caused her by means of this flower to procure

sleep, and so forget for a time her grief at the loss of her daughter Proserpine. The deep influence of these mythic legends on the feelings and national institutions of the Greeks are vividly evidenced by these types placed upon the public coinage. Some Athenian coins record the performance of national games, especially those having a torch on the reverse, which is an allusion to the games celebrated three times a-year, in honour of Prometheus and Vulcan, on which occasion such coins were struck. At these games the votaries assembled at night, and at the altar of the deity on which a fire was kept burning, those who wished to contend for the prize, at a given signal, lighted a torch at the altar fire, and ran to a certain goal in the city. The first in the race, if his torch* were extinguished in the contest gave place to the second, who, if not more fortunate, gave place to the third, or to the one, in short, who arrived with his torch still alight. As the competitors were compelled to run at full speed, it not unfrequently happened that all the torches were extinguished, when the prize was reserved for the ensuing festival. Occasionally these games were performed on horseback, and, as on foot, always at full speed. Some archæologists have imagined the game of the *mocoli*, as still practised on the last day of the Roman Carnival, to be a traditional form of this antique festival of the Athenians, from whom it spread to other countries, for Athens was, as it were, the temple of Greece, and her citizens were imbued, perhaps more than any other people, with religious feelings. Incense was ever burning on her altars, and her principal Divinities were worshipped not only in all parts of the Grecian peninsula, but in many countries beyond its limits.

In the late coins of the Greek series more purely historical interests become engaged, and when we examine the profusion of noble coins of Alexander the Great, still in existence, and those of the chiefs who reduced the vast provinces of his empire into independent kingdoms, we feel the reality of those great events in the story of man brought more vividly before us than by any written records. Those metallic

* The torch on the coins of Amphipolis may possibly allude to games of this description, though generally thought to be a mere symbol of light, and to allude to the worship of Apollo, or Phæbus.

monuments, with the portraits and names of the great Ptolemy, of Seleucus, of Lysimachus, still fresh and bright upon them as on the day they were minted, open up a vast and striking picture of that age of giants, and bear irrefragable testimony to the truth of all the principal records which have come down to us. They have also, by the indefatigable research and learning of eminent numismatists, brought to light other events of which no written record existed. Such for instance, as the Greek domination in Bactria, long after the time of Alexander—a nearly complete series of the coins of Greek princes of that portion of Asia having been recently discovered—restoring to the world a lost history, and possibly the means also of deciphering a lost language. Some of the inscriptions on this interesting and important series of coins being bilingual.

The coins of the Greek colonies of Italy, Sicily, Spain, and Gaul, also offer an endless variety of interesting illustrations of history, biography, and the progress of the arts, as will be seen when, in the ensuing pages, we have to treat of them in some detail.

But the Roman series which rose, as it were, on the ruins of that of Greece, is, perhaps, more generally interesting than any other; at all events it has been the most studied, and putting the question of art altogether on one side, it may fairly, from the number of undoubted portraits, and from the variety of great events recorded on it, be considered of the highest historical importance and interest. Addison, in his entertaining dialogues on coins, on which Pope wrote his well known poem, calls the Roman coinage a sort of “state gazette,” on which all the truly great events of the empire were periodically published; and when we find such announcements as *Egypta Capta* on coins of Augustus, struck on the conquest of Egypt, *Judea Capta* on those of Vespasian, issued when Judea was finally subjugated to the Roman yoke; or “*Rex parthis datus*” on the coins of Trajan, when the Roman emperor gave a king to the Parthians, we must allow the aptness of the term.

In addition to the vivid illustrations of history and general civilisation which they convey, the coins of Greece and Rome form in themselves a complete history of art; from its earliest development to the highest excellence it ever

attained in the greatest age of Grecian splendour: some coins of that epoch presenting works unsurpassed in beauty by sculpture on a larger scale. We may trace on the Roman series the gradual decline of art with the decay of the empire, until, with the complete prostration of Roman power in the west, art became nearly extinct; to revive, after a dormant period, in a totally new feeling, in the quaint but energetic character known as Gothic, the development of which may be traced in the coinage of modern Europe, from the fifth to the fifteenth century.

The modern series, consists of Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and English coins, is perhaps more perfect and complete than that of any other state, and exhibits every stage of development from the rude Saxon penny of Ethelbert to the great coinage of gold nobles in the flourishing part of the reign of Edward the Third, as well as the links of all subsequent progress. The eventful reign of Charles I. might be exhibited very graphically in a small cabinet of his coins—the rude “siege pieces,” struck without coining apparatus in different parts of the kingdom whither fluctuating fortunes drove the unfortunate prince, serving as monuments of almost each disaster or temporary triumph; among which, not the least remarkable are the great twenty shilling pieces of silver, coined at Oxford, from the plate given up by the heads of colleges to be melted down and coined for the royal cause; in which process perished some of the noblest specimens of the exquisite skill of our early silversmiths and goldsmiths, the loss of which will never cease to be regretted by true lovers of art.

The great and various interest, and general attractiveness of the study of ancient coins began to be perceived with the revival of learning in the fifteenth century,* and small collections were made at this early period; the first on record being that of the celebrated Petrarch, who eventually presented it, with his remarkable letter, to the Emperor of Germany. We next find Alphonso, King of Naples, collecting ancient coins from all parts of Italy, which he

* There is pretty good evidence that the Greeks and Romans themselves were in the habit of making collections of beautiful coins, with the same feeling which induced them to fill galleries with collections of statuary, brought from all parts of Greece and Asia.

constantly carried about with him, in a richly carved casket of ivory. The great Cosmo de' Medici perceived the interest of these beautiful and important monuments of antiquity, and commenced a cabinet which formed the nucleus of the present magnificent Florentine collection. Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, also formed a cabinet of medals about that period. Francis the First of France, among his other acts of munificence in the patronage of art, laid the foundation of the great French collection, now the finest in Europe, and likely to remain so, unless eventually surpassed by our own; which in some departments, however, can never hope to rival it, having come so lately into the field. For it must be borne in mind that long after every petty court in Europe possessed, in addition to its public library, a cabinet of coins, we were without either; and our national collection of ancient money only dates as far back as 1753, when the noble bequest of Sir Hans Sloane, of his coins and other antiquities, formed its commencement. But we were rich in private collections at a somewhat earlier period, of which the number of specimens, then unique, published in "Haym's British Treasury," is sufficient testimony.

The importance and interest of the study of coins, in a national point of view, is now fully understood by all enlightened governments, and the extent of some of the public collections established and maintained with this conviction may be, I think, fitly glanced at here.

The Russian collections, though of modern formation, already contain some thousands of interesting coins. The Madrid collection contains 2672 coins of gold, 30,692 of silver, and 51,186 of copper. That of Vienna is much more extensive; containing 24,112 Greek coins of all metals, 30,902 Roman, and 38,000 of the middle ages. But that of Paris surpasses all others in numbers, and in more than one class, both the rarity and beauty of its specimens are unrivalled.

Having endeavoured briefly to show the interest coins offer to private study, and their advantages in a public light, as being almost as important and instructive as a national library, I shall at once commence a brief description of the earliest Greek coins, and proceed to other series in chronological order.



GOLD COINS OF THE EARLIEST PERIOD.



1
MILETUS



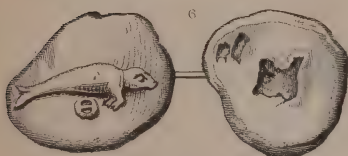
2
SARDIS



3
SARDIS



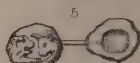
5 1/2
A GOLD DARIC



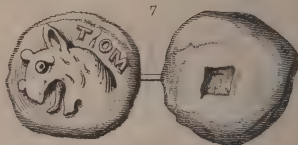
6
PHOCEA



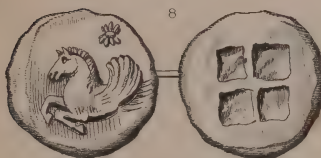
4
SARDIS



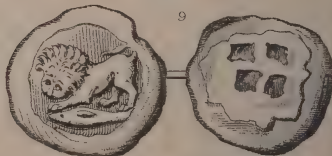
5
SARDIS



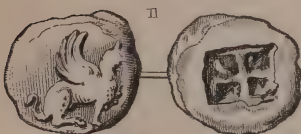
7
TEOS



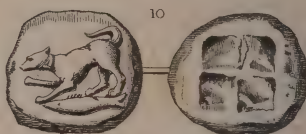
8
LAMPSACUS



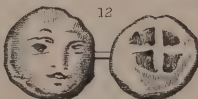
9
CYZICUS



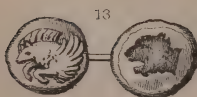
11
CHIOS



10
COLOPHON



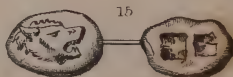
12
ABYDOS



13
CLAZOMENE



14
PHOCEA



15
CYZICUS

CHAPTER II.

OF THE EARLIEST KNOWN COINS, THE GOLD STATERS OF THE
LYDIANS, GREEKS, AND PERSIANS, IN ASIA MINOR.

A METALLIC medium of exchange, passing by *weight*, was, as we shall see, adopted at a very early period; but the use of actual coins, passing by *tale*, that is to say by counting, the weight and purity of each piece being guaranteed by the government of a state by means of a public seal or stamp of a sacred character, was a later invention. The immense advantages of such a species of money in many of the leading branches of human civilisation was soon universally felt; and its great value was so self-evident, that its origin came to be invested with a mystic character, and was by succeeding ages shrouded in fable: Saturn, Mercury, and other Divinities, having successively received the credit of this important invention.

Like many other of the most useful inventions of man, the precise date of the origin of coined money is lost in obscurity; nevertheless an approximation to it may be made with some degree of certainty. Gold and silver were used as media of exchange at a period long anterior to that when they appear in the form of coin; but as it is of positive *coins* only, a modern term more immediately derived from the French word *coigner*, to strike with a wedge or *coigne*, that I intend to treat in this work, I must be exceedingly brief in alluding to the sort of money that preceded them. Our earliest record of primitive civilisation, the Bible, informs us that gold and silver were used in lieu of direct barter as early as the time of Shem, and we there learn that Abraham returned from Egypt "very rich in cattle, silver, and gold." This was, according to the commonly received computation, 1918 years before the Christian era. Now great part of this silver and gold might consist in rich drinking vessels, and in jewels, but

much no doubt was actual *money*, for it is shown by the painted sculptures of Egypt still, in some cases, as fresh as when they were executed, that silver and gold were known to the Egyptians and in common use as circulating media. This money was evidently in the form of rings,* as shown in the sculpture-paintings, where figures are seen weighing it, while others note down on a tablet the exact amount. This sort of money, passing by *weight*, and not by *tale*, is thus of a totally distinct character from *coins*. We have a more positive notice of this kind of money, where Abraham is stated to have given to Abimelech, King of Gera, one thousand pieces of silver, evidently referring to money of this description; and also in the purchase of the field of Machpelah, when "Abraham *weighed* to Ephron the silver which he had named," four hundred shekels of silver *current money* with the merchant. Thus we find that a metallic currency was positively in existence at this early period, and that the *shekel* was already established as a national Jewish *weight*, though it was as yet unknown as a coin. This shekel is, in the book of Job, called *kesitah* (a lamb), the weight being possibly made in that form; as we see them in that of sheep and other animals in the Egyptian paintings, and they have been discovered in similar forms

* These rings in the Egyptian paintings are merely painted as simple circlets of metal, but apparently capable of being opened at one side, so that they might be strung together in the form of a chain. A modern ring-money is still in circulation in some parts of Northern Africa; as described by Mr. Bonomi, it resembles the Celtic and Scandinavian ring-money of the middle ages, the idea of which was no doubt originally imported from the East. Of such ring-money as was in circulation in the north



Egyptian
Ring Money.

and west of Europe, about the time of the invasion of Cæsar, and later, the annexed woodcut will afford a good idea. It was usually made with the ends flattened, where they were pressed together when used to form a chain. Such rings are frequently found both in England and Ireland, and of various sizes, both in gold and silver, from the size of a finger-ring to that of a bracelet, and from that of a bracelet to that of a *torque*, or collar, frequently worn round the neck by northern races. It is not the intention in a work devoted to the history of the origin and progressive development of true *coins*, to speak at length of any sort of



Celtic
Ring Money.

money which preceded it; but it may not be out of place to state here, *en passant*, that ancient authors have alluded to leather money—clay money—to shells used as money—to iron money, &c., which will be referred to incidentally as occasion occurs.

among the Assyrian remains recently brought to light. The lamb may have been adopted to signify that that weight of silver represented the value of a lamb, while other weights possibly denoted by their form that they represented the value of an ox. Certain it is that the transition from simple barter to the use of a metallic media of exchange was shown in some instances by figures of that description, most remarkably perhaps, on the *libra* or pound weight of the Romans, which was impressed with the image of an ox, and other domestic animals, the term *pecu* (cattle), being the origin of the Latin word *pecunia* (money), from which many modern monetary terms are derived. The step from simple barter to that of an inconvenient metallic currency passing by weight, was an enormous one in the march of civilisation; but that from a weighed currency to one formed of positive coins which were received at once as of a certain value, guaranteed, not by an individual, but by a state, with the national signet stamped upon it to establish and denote that value, was a yet greater step, and formed the basis of the entire after-development of the commercial system.

When this great advance in monetary science was first achieved is, as I have stated, a matter of some uncertainty; however data exist which bring its beginning within a very moderate chronological circle, which I will refer to as briefly as possible.

Coined money is not mentioned by Homer, which he most certainly would not have omitted to notice had it then existed, for his great poem is a sort of encyclopædia of the state of civilisation in his time; and we find him, instead of coined money, alluding to the circulating medium then in use in Greece as of a much more primitive character; as, when he says that an ox was exchanged for a bar of brass three feet long, and that a *woman* who understood several useful arts was considered worth four oxen. Thus it appears that although metal was very early used as a medium of exchange, it merely represented in a very direct manner actual *barter*, till *coin* was invented.

Bars, or spikes, like the above-mentioned, form a sort of transition stage, between the weighed money before referred to and true coins, as such bars passed by *tale* rather than by weight; and I dwell upon them in this place more than

I otherwise should do, as from similar spikes or bars to those mentioned by Homer originated the *names* of the two principal Greek coins, the *drachma* and the *obolus*, the latter name being formed of a Greek term signifying a *spike* or small *obelisk*, and the former, a *handful*—six being the number of those spikes that could be grasped by an ordinary hand (6 oboli going to the drachm)—such was the origin of the drachma and obolus which afterwards became coins, which are known by the same names in Greece even at the present day. They may be compared to our shillings and pennies, though the drachma, according to the present value of silver only represents $9\frac{1}{4}d.$, and the obolus $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ and one-fifth of a farthing.

Herodotus tells us that the Lydians first *coined* gold, and the “Parian Chronicle”* records that Phidon of Argos first caused silver to be coined in the island of Ægina; and as the gold coinage of Asia Minor is generally believed to have preceded the silver coinage of Ægina, or that of any other part of Greece, I shall first treat of the earliest known gold coins. These were doubtless adjusted to some well known and generally acknowledged weight or standard, and so received the name of *stater*, a Greek word signifying *standard*. This *standard* appears to have been a weight corresponding to two drachmæ of silver, and of the value of twenty. Thus, the Greeks† when they first established *coins* as a circulating medium, perhaps two thousand five hundred years ago, laid the foundation of the very forms, sizes, and divisions, still found in all the various currencies of Europe even to the present day, most strikingly perhaps in our own—the stater, drachma, and obolus, corresponding very nearly to our sovereign, shilling, and penny.

It is a point in dispute, notwithstanding the assertion of Herodotus, whether the Lydians or the newly formed Greek colonies of Asia Minor, are best entitled to the merit of the important invention of coined money; or, indeed, whether even the Persians may not rather be entitled to that honour; but by comparing the fabric of some of the earliest gold

* A series of ancient inscriptions on marble, now at Oxford, probably inscribed in the second century, B.C.

† The Lydians were of the same race as the Greeks, both being of Pelasgic descent.

pieces in existence, those various claims may be better understood, though possibly never finally adjusted.

By a very high authority, an Ionian coin of the city of Miletus, now in the British Museum (Plate I, No. 1), has been considered to exhibit marks of more ancient fabric than any coin hitherto discovered; it will, therefore, be well to examine it first.

The Ionian colonies in Asia Minor were founded by Greeks from the Peloponnesus, about the eleventh century before the Christian era; and the city of Miletus was taken from the Carians, who were, like the Greeks themselves, of Pelasgic origin, and spoke a language derived from the same source, but which was much ridiculed by the hellenic Greeks on account of its corruptness. Some considerable period evidently elapsed after these Ionian Greeks established themselves in Asia before they *coined* money; the date of that invention being conjectured, with some certainty, to lie in the seventh and eighth century before the Christian era. Homer's silence on the subject, as before alluded to, making it more than probable that it did not exist before the last mentioned period, while frequent mention of it, and even laws upon the subject,* soon after the first mentioned date, prove that, at that time, it must have been widely established, so that the earliest of the gold coins about to be described may have possibly been struck as early as 800 B.C.

No. 1, Plate I.—The Primitive Coin of Miletus in Ionia. This coin undoubtedly belongs to the first period of coinage, as it has all the characters of the earliest of those curious monuments that have come down to us—namely, a very rude impression on one side, and on the other merely the indent formed by the punch used to drive the metal into the die or mould containing the engraved design. The piece of metal destined to be thus coined by these primitive moneyers was nearly globular, a tendency to which form the coins of this first period of the art still retained, even after the flattening process of hammering them into the die. The type of this Ionian coin is a lion's head, a symbol sacred also among the Persians and Assyrians, as an emblem

* Those of Solon, issued probably about 583 B.C., containing severe edicts against forgers of public money.

of strength, nobleness and royalty, and frequently associated by the Greeks with some of their mythologic legends—especially in the worship of Cybele. The art displayed in this lion's head is of most primitive character, and the punch-mark at the back of great rudeness.

As Herodotus states that the Lydians were the first to coin gold, I will next describe a coin assigned by numismatists to that people. The Lydians, originally of the same Pelasgic race as the Greeks, had, like the Carians, attained to a considerable degree of civilisation before the arrival of the Greek colonists in Asia Minor, while their princes were of Grecian race, being descended from the Peloponnesian Heraclidæ. Long after the arrival of the Greek colonists, the Lydians continued to increase in power and civilisation under the dominion of this race of princes, the last of the direct line being the well known Candaules, who was assassinated and succeeded by Gyges. This prince, though of another branch, termed the Mermnadæ, was also a lateral descendant of the Heraclidæ; he flourished between 755 and 700 B.C., and to him or his immediate successors the earliest gold coinage of Lydia may possibly be attributed: at all events, he is well known as a protector of the arts, and is stated to have sent six gold cups to the temple of Delphi, weighing thirty talents, but which were “yet more precious on account of their beautiful workmanship.”

No. 2, Plate I., is conjectured to be of the earliest gold coinage of Lydia: first, because of its peculiar fabric, which, as described in the coin No. 1, is of primitive character, with an impression on one side only, and on the other a deep and rough indent; and secondly, because coins of this description are found most abundantly about the ruins of Sardis, the ancient capital of Lydia—which is a still stronger argument in favour of the attribution. They have been supposed by some to be the coins of the celebrated Cræsus, a successor of Gyges, but the general character of the art of coining had made considerable progress at that time, and assumed a somewhat different character, making it probable that these coins belong to a period as early as the one suggested.* The

* It must be admitted, however, that the art displayed in the bull's head, and that of the lion, is not very archaic; and, notwithstanding the rudeness of the indent at the back, these coins *may* be of the age of Cræsus.

type of the bull and lion would appear to have been derived from Persia or Assyria, where the triumph of the lion over the bull symbolises the triumph of royal force over external or domestic enemies—a myth long afterwards illustrated in the public games of Persia, where the combat of a lion and bull formed the principal feature of the entertainments in the arena, and where the lion was always made to prevail, even by stratagem, if that became necessary. There was also another and more latent meaning in this antique myth, which has only recently been explained—namely, that the lion represented heat, or the sun, and the bull, water or humidity;* the combat representing the victory of the sun over the unwholesome vapours of the earth. This was also part of the creed of the Fire-worshippers. The idea that art and civilisation flowed originally from Central Asia appears borne out by these facts, and also by others, which I shall have occasion to allude to in describing early coins, especially those of Acanthus, on which this same symbol of the lion overcoming the bull afterwards appeared.

These coins of Sardis were supposed by Sestini to belong to the island of Samos, probably because Herodotus has mentioned the gold money of Polycrates; and also on account of a rare coin of the same type having an S (Σ) on the obverse, which, however, suits equally to Sardis, where most of the coins are found.

No. 3, Plate I., is another coin of the same primitive character of workmanship, which may be assigned to the same place; it is from the royal collection of Munich, and engraved by Sestini. I have given a figure of it here as further illustrating the Persian or Assyrian origin of some of the types of these early coins of Asia Minor; the fore portions of two bulls, joined at the centre of the body, being the design of the capitals of the columns in the principal ruin of Persepolis, as described by M. Flandin, which strikingly resemble the lion and bull of this coin joined in a similar manner.

Nos. 4 and 5, Plate I.—Of the gold staters of this early period there are also divisions, such as the *hemistater* or half stater, the *distater* or double stater; and also the quarter

* A bull was by the Greeks made the symbol of a river. See chapters on Greek types, and on the Greek coins of the finest epoch, especially a coin of Kamarina.

and small subdivisions, such as sixths, eighths, &c., similar to these small Sardinian pieces. No 4 has the bull only for type, and the Σ or S which caused Sestini to attribute these coins to Samos.

No. 5½, Plate I., is of similar fabric and weight to the coins above described, and is one of the darics, or Persian staters of Darius Hystaspes, who finally subdued the Greek colonies about 520, B.C. Mionnet appears to think them of higher antiquity than any other coins, but the opinion at present received is that they were struck by the Persians for the use of the Grecian provinces of Asia, when they fell under Persian dominion, and that the Persians were not the inventors of a coinage, nor did they even then adopt that kind of circulating medium, but only coined for the conquered Greeks the sort of money that they were accustomed to, placing upon it, however, the royal symbol of Persia, the crowned archer. This is a very plausible theory, and very satisfactory to all who wish to favour the Greek claim to the invention of the art of coining money. But on the other side, the exceedingly rude style of the reverse of these coins would seem to place their production at an earlier period than the Persian conquest, if not earlier than that of any of the coins I have previously described, for the punch mark is still more rude and shapeless. This is accounted for by the advocates for the Greeks as the result of the rude art of the barbarian Persians; but if other facts hereafter to be discovered, should give to the Persians the honour of inventing coined money, it will be one of the many striking proofs of the origin of all civilisation in central Asia, and its general course westward.* Though only *gold* darics are mentioned by ancient authors, silver darics exist, as well as silver coins of Sardis, exactly like the staters, which I shall mention in treating of the earliest coinage of silver. These primitive Asiatic silver coins were at first, as Sestini states, also called staters, but that name became eventually more especially confined to the gold.†

No. 6, Plate I., (the next specimen) is a double stater of

* The Persian gold coinage, originating in the darics, continued till the conquests of Alexander; and those of the later period have devices on both sides, some having a combat of a lion and bull, over a castle.

† The term "stater," as applied to silver, eventually signified a tetradrachm, or piece of four drachmæ.

Phoea in Ionia, now in the royal cabinet of Munich, richer perhaps in early Greek gold than any other collection. The staters of the Phoeans are mentioned by ancient authors as in general circulation, but Eckhel, at the time he composed his great work, had not seen any coin he could assign to that state, and it remained for Sestini, in examining the rich collection of Munich, to describe and assign its true position to the curious and interesting coin of which I am now speaking. It is a double stater, and bears for type a seal, the Greek name of which, Φωχῆ (Phoké), is said to have given its name to the city, as I stated in my introduction, in consequence of the ship which brought the first colonists from Greece having been followed by a shoal of these animals, which was considered a good omen.* Types of this description are called by numismatists *speaking* types, that is, images which express the name of the state or city; such as a rose on the coins of Rhodes, the name of the rose being *ρόδον* (rodon), the pomegranate, *σίδη* (sidé), on those of Side, &c.; such types, however, are not mere puns upon the name, as some have supposed, but religious symbols, or images of objects, rendered sacred in most cases by some circumstances in connexion with the foundation of the state, and its name, and which became in consequence, objects of sacrifice periodically offered at the altar of the tutelary deity. In addition to the figure of the seal on this interesting coin, the first letter or character of the name of the city, Φ (PH.), appears, a custom† which afterwards became universal on Greek coins, and affords conclusive evidence that the attribution of this coin to Phoea is correct. The back is very rude, and shows that the coin is of the very earliest class.

Though the seal or *phoké* is the general type of the early coins of the Phoeans, they occasionally adopted others, as the lion, and the ram, more especially, which were symbols connected with the sacrificial rites of the public faith; but these symbols were most frequently accompanied by the

* It must be remembered, however, that these Phoeans were from the state of Phocis, in Greece, and, of course, bore that name long before the settlement of their colony in Asia.

† The second and third letters were gradually added to prevent confusion between the names of states beginning with the same letter, and in some cases the full name occurs.

original type, as in the quarter stater, (Plate I, No. 14,) where a small but distinct figure of a seal is seen. The back of this coin is *incused* with a rudely executed impression of a lion's head, with the mouth open. This *incused* impression on the back of the coin, produced from a relief on the punch by which the metal was struck into the principal die, would appear to be a mode of striking coins nearly as ancient as the rough square indent; a fact I shall allude to again in describing the early coins of Magna Græcia.

On later coins of Phoea the Dioscuri appear, under whose protection the Phoceans are said to have been the first to perform long sea voyages; founding Marseilles at a very early period, and other colonies in Italy and on the coast of Spain. The heads of Pallas and Mercury are also found on coins of this people; such coins being found to belong to them by comparison with coins of a later period, bearing in addition to such types the name, abbreviated or in full, of the state. It is by comparison of such more recent coins with the earlier ones that many coins long considered of uncertain origin have been assigned to their true position.

No. 7, Plate I.—There are gold coins of Teos of an antiquity possibly as remote, judging from the workmanship, as any of the preceding, and what is very interesting, on one the most rude, the coin under description, the name of the state appears in full, written in the ancient manner, ΤΙΟΜ for ΤΙΟΣ. This position of the sigma (Σ) denotes great antiquity; I for E is evidence that the name was anciently written Tios. This coin has determined the attribution of several others to Teos, having for type the griphon's *head* only, which had been previously assigned to Phoea and other places, the more customary type of Teos being an entire sitting figure of a winged griffin—similar to that of Abdera, which latter M. Cadalvene says may be distinguished from that of Teos by having *pointed* wings, while those of the griffin of Teos are rounded at the ends.*

No. 8, Plate I.—There are staters of Lampsacus of nearly as ancient fabric as any coins yet described. According to Pomponius Mela, the city of Lampsacus, in Mysia, was founded by the Phoceans, and was afterwards one of the towns

* See plate of earliest silver coins, for the coin of Abdera.

assigned by Xerxes to Themistocles as an *appanage*. The name is said to be derived from *Λαμπα* (*lampa*, a shining light), the Phocæan emigrants having determined to plant the new colony where they first beheld a shining light. Situated in a position to command all the advantages of a great maritime commerce, the people of this state adopted the winged sea-horse as their monetary type, in allusion to the fleetness of their vessels; above the horse is a small object which Sestini describes as a flower, but which may be a star, perhaps in allusion to the one which, shining with unusual brightness at the period of emigration, determined the site of the new city. Later coins of the Lampsacæans have a head of Neptune, wearing the pileum or cap of liberty wreathed with laurel, which would scarcely have been attributed to this place but for examples of a later period, in which the head in question is accompanied on the reverse by the well-known type of the winged sea-horse peculiar to Lampsacus.

No. 9, Plate I. is a double stater of Cyzicus, a colony of Miletus, which received its name from its founder and first king. Its gold staters were, perhaps, more celebrated than any other gold coin of the Greeks, and after those of many other places ceased to be struck, either through the subjugation or destruction of the cities or states, or from other causes, the mint of Cyzicus continued in activity not only throughout the whole period of Grecian greatness, but during the Roman domination, even down to the reign of Justinian, which, counting from the fall of the Western Empire, brings these coins into modern history. It is conjectured that the earliest gold coin of modern Venice was imitated from them, and that the name of the sequin, the *zecca* and *zechino* of Venice, is but a corruption of the name of these ancient coins, which were termed *Cyzicenes*.

We learn from a passage of Demosthenes that the stater of Cyzicus was of greater weight than that of other cities, and passed for twenty-eight drachmæ of Athens, instead of twenty. The gold double stater under description is attributed by Sestini to Cyzicus, on account of its weight agreeing with this extra standard, and because the lion, with the secondary type of a fish, was a type of the later coinage of this state, founded doubtless on the earlier ones. The reverse is extremely rude.

No. 15, Plate I, is a half stater of Cyzicus. The well-known type of the later coins of Cyzicus, the lion's head accompanied by a fish, is also found on half staters of the standard of Cyzicus, but more generally without the fish, showing that the lion's head alone was the simple original symbol adopted for the coins of this state. The weight and fabric of this very early half stater, are amply sufficient to prove its attribution to Cyzicus to be correct; in further proof of which one very similar may be cited, engraved by Sestini, having the inscription in extremely ancient characters, **KIZYKE** (*Kizyke* or *Cizyce*). Proserpine appears on the later coinage of Cyzicus with the title of Saviour (*soter*). It is thought that the veiled head on some coins of this state is that of Cybele, to whom the Argonauts when detained in Cyzicus, erected a statue on the neighbouring mountain, which, as related by Zosimus, was eventually removed to Constantinople by Constantine. The first king, Cyzicus, was destroyed by Cybele in consequence, as the fable states, of his having killed one of the lions belonging to her chariot, and from this circumstance and others connected with it, the lion's head was probably adopted as the type of the first national coinage.

No. 10, Pl. I.—Colophon, in Ionia, furnishes our next example of the antique and primitive gold money we have been considering; the piece is of very early date, and assigned to this city on good grounds. Pliny relates that the Colophonians anciently trained dogs to assist in war, and that dogs were kept on the rock or fortress of the place to watch and give warning of the approach of an enemy. This statement would, of itself, be sufficient to account for the attribution of this coin to Colophon, even were it not, as it is, borne out by the fact that another similar coin bears the inscription **Κολο** (*Kolo*), the commencement of the name of the state. The dog, in this specimen stands upon a fish, and appears to be of the mastiff breed, that most likely to be trained with success for the purposes mentioned by Pliny. The back has a punch-mark in four rough compartments.

No. 11, Pl. I.—The coins of the Ionian island of Chios are very numerous, commencing with the earliest periods of the art and continuing till a very late epoch. They afford, perhaps, better than any other Greek series the means of

exhibiting, in the coinage of a single state, its progress from primitive rudeness to perfection, and its subsequent decadence. The principal type of the early coinage of the Chians is the griffon, differing but slightly from that of Abdera. The gold coin, under description, is of this early period, and is most probably a double stater.

No. 12, Pl. I., is of a somewhat different style of fabric, but judging from the rudeness and barbarism of the workmanship it belongs also to the earliest period. It is supposed to belong to the Trojan city of Abydos, and the head, or rather face, may be that of Apollo, whose worship, as well as that of Diana, was greatly cultivated in that city—its temple of Diana being one of the most celebrated in Asia, after that of Ephesus. Coins of Abydos of a later period bear on the reverse a head with streaming hair, supposed to be that of Leander in the act of swimming; in allusion to the celebrated fable of Hero and Leander.

No. 13, Pl. I.—I shall have occasion again to refer to the gold coins of Clazomene, in treating of this branch of art, in its finest period, as they are among its most exquisite productions. In this place I shall only notice the coins of the earliest epoch, of which Clazomene furnishes many, which,—if not of equal antiquity with those attributed to Sardis, Miletus, &c.—belong yet to an epoch little more recent. The present coin is a gold hemistater, having the well-known Clazomenian type of the winged boar on the obverse, and on the reverse an *incused* or sunk impression of a lion's head—a style of reverse nearly as ancient as the rough punch-mark without design. The type of the winged boar was adopted in accordance with the Clazomenian legend, related by Ælian, that the neighbourhood of the city was long infested by a monster of that description, which committed great devastation.

From a careful examination of the coins of Plate I, and their descriptions in this chapter, the student may be enabled to form a very accurate notion of the style and mode of the earliest known coinage. These coins exhibit different degrees of rudeness; those of Lampsacus, Colophon, and Cyzicus, judging from the greater regularity of the punch-mark, being more recent than many of the others. That of Teos, on the contrary, with a single, small,

and deep indent on the reverse, and that of Phoea, of very similar fabric, appear fully as ancient in their general character as those of Sardis, Miletus, and the Darics; but it must be borne in mind that the greatest rudeness of fabric does not always, of necessity, indicate the greatest antiquity, as it may have occurred in consequence of the greater degree of barbarism of states issuing them,—some coins of the islands, for instance, being excessively rude imitations of the coins of the neighbouring continent, at a time when the latter had made considerable progress. Another fact must also be borne in mind, as of importance in determining the relative antiquity of coins, which is, that some states, the purity and sterling quality of whose early coins became celebrated, continued to coin after the primitive manner, lest any change in the appearance of the money should cause its depreciation, or induce strangers to doubt its genuineness. Such was the case with the Æginetans, who continued to coin in the ancient form to the end of their independence; but, though the old forms are still preserved, a gradually increasing neatness and perfection of workmanship may be traced. Notwithstanding these difficulties, I think it may be fairly assumed, and the more so as the assumption is backed by the statements of ancient authors, that the coins attributed to Sardis belong to the earliest period of art, and thus corroborate the evidence of Herodotus, when he states that the Lydians were the first to coin gold and silver money. The coin of Miletus, No. 1, also bears incontestible marks of the highest antiquity, and may possibly have even preceded the Lydian issue; but Miletian coins having been produced in comparatively small numbers may not have become at once celebrated like a profuse issue of the richer Lydians, and consequently not have been noticed by historians. It also seems probable, from the preceding observations, that if the darics were not coined till the subjugation of the Greek colonies by the Persians, about 554 B.C., they must have been imitations in style of much earlier works; otherwise we may suppose that the Greeks, or more especially the Lydians, whose subjugation immediately preceded that of the Greeks, had preserved the exact modes and types of their first coinage, and that Cræsus continued to strike gold coins at the moment of his

SILVER COINS OF THE EARLIEST PERIOD.



overthrow, precisely after the manner of the earliest issues, while his immense wealth enabled him to coin vast numbers of gold staters. The Persians, it may be, coined the darics for circulation in Asia Minor, exactly after the fashion of the Cræasian staters, the repute of which made them current in all the then civilised world, which may also account for the primitive style of the reverse of the darics, without assigning to them the same high antiquity as to the earliest Greek and Lydian coins. This is, of course, mere conjecture, but it reconciles the difficulty concerning the darics, which, though all precisely of the same character, doubtless belong to several successive epochs.* It would also account for the fine style of the heads of the bull and lion on the Sardian coins, which forms a strange contrast to the excessively rude and formless indent of the punch-mark of the reverse, and is exactly similar to that of the darics. This might be further elucidated by a careful examination of all the known Sardian coins, in which, possibly, progressive degrees of excellence in the execution of the types might be discovered, though the rude style of the back was scrupulously preserved, as an original and long venerated characteristic.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLIEST SILVER COINAGE OF GREECE. COINS OF ÆGINA, ARGOS, ATHENS, &c.

THE *Parian Chronicle*, as stated in the previous chapter, records that Phidon, King of Argos, first employed the people of Ægina to coin silver money. This is conjectured to have taken place in the eighth century before the Christian era. In corroboration of this statement, we find that the coins of the island of Ægina present characteristics of the most ancient period of coinage in Greece or the neighbouring islands. They are easily recognised by the tortoise, which is their invariable type, the later examples having, in addition,

* For later Persian coins see note, page 14.

the initial letter, A, and in some cases the greater part of the name of the island. It was, till recently, thought that the coins with the type of the tortoise were the coins struck by those islanders for Phidon, the Argive prince, but the remarks contained in an interesting article on the subject by Mr. Borrel, inevitably lead to the supposition that such was not the case, but that these coins were the money of the Æginetans themselves, while those of similar fabric bearing the dolphin for type (No. 4, Plate II.,) which will be described in their place, may possibly be the coins struck by them for the prince of Argos.

The earliest coins of Ægina are probably of somewhat earlier date than those supposed to be struck for Phidon, as we may be allowed to infer from the inscription of the *Parian Chronicle*, that Phidon found the islanders already in possession of the art of coining money, and was the first prince of the continental Greek states who took advantage of the important discovery. The Æginetans themselves, a maritime and enterprising race, had probably received the art from the Lydians in their commercial dealings with the Greek states of Asia Minor; the nature of whose gold coins has been discussed in Chap. II.

No. 1, Plate II., is the earliest known form of the Æginetan coinage. The tortoise is rudely but boldly formed, with the simplicity yet grandeur of conception of the early Greek artists; while the back has four deep triangular indents of the most primitive character.

No. 2, Plate II., exhibits the next step in advance; the turtle or tortoise is enriched with a row of knobs along the back, and is better executed; while the back has more the character of the earliest Asiatic gold.

No. 3 shows an entirely new and more finished treatment of the tortoise; which some authors have considered to be the land tortoise, at that time substituted for turtle. But Pausanias states that the land and sea tortoises are perfectly similar in that region; only differing in the formation of the feet. The coin, No. 3, has, in addition to the type, the initial letter A, and the punch-mark on the reverse is much

* The Parian marble gives a date, which accords with 895 B.C., but Grote, Clinton, Böckh, and Müller, give the dates between 783 or 770, and 744 or 730 B.C.

more symmetrical. Late examples have the letters AIR, and some few the name in full, while one or more of the compartments on the reverse are ornamented with a neatly executed dolphin—but these belong to a later period of the art, which this is not the place to dilate upon.

The money of the Æginetans, from its weight and purity, soon obtained a very general circulation, forming nearly the only circulating medium of the Peloponnesus, the pieces being called *tortoises* (χελωναι), from their type. The tortoise was sacred to Mercury, to whom the ancients attributed the invention of weights and measures, and also money; and these islanders, in adopting it as their type, testified their devotion to the god of commerce and industry. From the great faith with which the coins of this small state were received, wherever they were known, it is supposed that it was not thought advisable to change their type or form, so that in the latest coinage of Ægina much of the early form and character was kept up, after great improvements had been made in the coinage of other states.

No. 4, Plate III., is a coin bearing all the characters of Æginetan fabric and standard, accompanied by types which render it extremely probable that it is one of those struck by this people for Phidon, King of Argos.* It is well known that the dolphins were an early symbol of the coinage of Argos, and, though abandoned for a time, were afterwards resumed; and they appear upon later and well known coins of that state, accompanied by the wolf and other national devices, and also by the head of Juno, whose temple at Argos is described by Pausanias, in speaking of the statue by Polycletes in gold and ivory, which was executed for that shrine.

No. 5, Pl. III., is a rude coin of the Æginetan standard, but possibly executed in some more remote island, where the standard of Ægina had been adopted through commercial intercourse, but where a national symbol was adopted in preference. It greatly resembles in fabric some rude coins of Thasus. Pellerin mentions several imitations, not only of standard, but also of form and type, which have led some to assign them to the state whose types are thus imitated—a very high antiquity being assigned to such coins, to account for their excessive rudeness of execution.

* Herod., lib. vi. c. 127.

No. 6, Pl. II., is a coin of more genuine aspect, still belonging to the same style of fabrication as those of Ægina. It is assigned, by M. Cadalvene, to Coressus, and apparently on good ground, the initials of the name Ϟ Ϟ accompanying the type. These letters are of very ancient form, the Phœnician koph Ϟ being used instead of κ, which has also been observed on the most ancient coins of Corinth. The types are a cuttle-fish and another small fish, the species of which is doubtful. The cuttle-fish alludes to the worship of Neptune, a deity much venerated by the Coressians as the protector of their island, which was more anciently known as *Hidrussa* (Ἰδρύσσα), a place abounding in springs.

No. 7, Plate XI., is a coin of early fabric, attributed to Teos, in Ionia. We are informed by Herodotus that the Teians, dreading the encroachments of the Persians in Ionia, abandoned their city, and founded Abdera, in Thrace. The coinage of the latter place bears the same type, the griffon, as that of the parent city, but with a slight difference in treatment, as remarked by an eminent numismatist, which may enable the collector to assign the proper coins to their respective localities. This distinction consists in the form of the wings of the griffon, which are *pointed* on the coins of Abdera (see No. 1, Pl. IV.), while on those of Teos they are rounded, as shown in the present example. The griffon was sacred to Apollo, to whom an especial worship was devoted in most of the Ionian cities, but more particularly in Teos.

No. 8, Plate XI., is a very remarkable coin. The greatest Grecian name, that of Athens, does not hold the rank in monetary art* that might be expected from its pre-eminence in general civilisation and refinement. The earliest Athenian coins commonly known belong to an epoch much later than the one I am now treating of; this rare coin, however, belongs to the earliest period of the art, and is evidence that, although the Athenians may have coined but in small quantities,† yet that native money was evidently struck very soon after the early coinage of Ægina. This coin bears the well known

* The coinage of Athens however, though not ranking high in point of art, held the highest rank for purity and weight, and eventually circulated more widely than that of any other Grecian state.

† The money of their close neighbours, the Æginetans, whose island Pericles called the eyesore of the Piræus, being, perhaps, found, at that time, sufficient for the public currency.

Athenian symbol, the owl, sacred to the tutelary deity, Minerva, whose Greek name, Athena, became that of the city; it appears to belong to a period corresponding to the second stage of the coinage of Ægina, the same knob-like style of ornament being adopted on the breast of the owl as on the back of the tortoise (No. 2).

No. 9, Plate II., is an extremely early coin of Bœotia, bearing the well-known type of the buckler, which was never abandoned on the coins of this district up to the latest period. Some have imagined that this type was a perverted copy of the Egyptian scarabei, which they supposed to be a kind of stone money among the Egyptians. The Ephesian bee, and even the early Corinthian pegasus, have both been supposed to have the same origin; but the hypothesis is not received by sound numismatists. It is thought by others that the shield, or buckler type of the Bœotians, originated in the celebrity of this race in the manufacture of armour, Homer praising the shield of Ajax as having been made in the town of *Hyle*, in Bœotia. But its adoption had probably a more intimately religious origin, all Grecian types being originally symbols sacred in some way to tutelar deities.

No. 10, Plate XI., is a coin of Lete, in Macedonia, and is an example of the free manner in which early Greek artists occasionally treated mythological subjects on the public coinage. Pan and Silenus were greatly venerated at Lete; and it is possibly Pan carrying off the nymph who became the mother of Silenus, that is represented on this rude and extremely ancient coin, which belongs to almost the earliest numismatic period, as will be seen on examining the reverse.

No. 11, Plate XI., is a coin of Dyracchium (a small city on the coast of Illyria); it evidently belongs to the early period of coinage of which I am treating, and tends to show how rapidly this important art spread among the states of Greece, and even the neighbouring and far less civilised countries. The type on the principal side is a cow suckling a calf—a similar type to that found on a most ancient gold stater of apparently Asiatic workmanship, which Sestini assigns to Cyzicus, concluding that it alluded to the fertility of the soil; such, however, could hardly be the case in the sterile mountainous country of Illyria.

No. 12, Plate II.—These coins are only found in the Island of Ceos, which, with most of the Cyclades, received Athenian colonies at an early period. The vase is supposed to allude to the purifications and ablutions used in the initiation to the mysteries of Bacchus, the deity chiefly worshipped in that island.

No. 13, Plate II., is a hemidrachm, or half-drachma, of about the same period as the earliest coins of Ægina; and, from the type of the lion, has been assigned to Cyzicus. The style of the lion might, indeed, lead to the supposition of its being a Lydian coin, struck at Sardis; but the configuration of the punch-marks of the reverse differ from the more shapeless Lydian reverses.

No. 14, Plate II., is a half-drachma, assigned by Mionnet to Abydos; and the later coins of this city, on which similar types are accompanied by the name or initials of the city, seem to prove the conjecture to be well-founded. The fabric of the coin denotes high antiquity; and the maritime position of this celebrated city, well known to have enjoyed great commercial prosperity at a very early period, is sufficient to account for its being one of the earliest seats of coinage.

Its poetical celebrity, founded on the well-known legend of Hero and Leander, is supposed to be commemorated on some of its coins of a later period, on which is a head with long streaming locks, supposed to be that of Leander in the act of swimming the "ocean stream" in the night, guided by the beacon-lamp in the tower of Hero.*

No. 15, Plate II., is a rare silver coin, now in the famous Hunterian collection at Glasgow, where, with many other treasures of antiquity, it remains buried within rusty locks and bolts. It has been assigned to Samos, by Sestini; but, as that learned numismatist made several errors in his attributions to that locality, this may be one of them. It is enough for my present purpose that it is a genuine silver coin of the highest antiquity, of grand, though rude, design and execution; and serves well to complete the series of examples which I have thought it necessary to give of the earliest known silver coinages.† After the

* Mentioned also in Chapter II., on the earliest gold coinage, p. 19.

† I have thought it more advisable to make two distinct chapters on the

perusal of this series of descriptions, it will be well to refer again to the whole of the examples in Pl. II., by a careful examination of which, the general character and local varieties of the silver coinage will be pretty well appreciated. It will be seen that during this epoch no attempt whatever was made to produce an ornamental impression on the reverse, which is invariably occupied by the cavity produced by the punch or wedge, struck by the hammer, in the act of producing the coin. The idea of making the punch itself the vehicle of an ornamental design, as well as the die, marks another epoch in the art, and will be treated of in its proper place.

In the meantime, I shall proceed to describe a different style of manufacture, which prevailed in the Greek colonies of southern Italy, at an epoch nearly coeval with the issue of the earliest coins above enumerated—which, with other modes of fabric, will form the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY SILVER COINS OF BYTHINIA AND OF THE WESTERN COLONIES OF GREECE, EXHIBITING VARIOUS AND PECULIAR MODES OF PRIMITIVE WORKMANSHIP.

It has been shown in the preceding chapters, that the original mode of coining money was by striking a piece of metal into a mould or die, by means of a wedge or punch, until the piece of metal was sufficiently driven into the mould to receive a perfect impression. The money thus produced had, of course, one perfect side—that driven into the die, the other being marked with the deep, and, at first,

earliest gold, and the earliest silver, giving the former to Asia, and the latter to Europe, though in point of primitive character of workmanship, it is pretty evident that the gold coining states of Asia issued silver also, as may be seen by the specimens in this plate, Nos. 13, 14, and 15; while the silver staters of Sardis and the silver darics are also not to be overlooked.

irregular indent of the punch. This process was gradually improved by making the punch more regular in form, the mode of doing which varied in different states, as will be exhibited in the following series of examples.

No. 1, Plate III., is a silver coin of Chalcedon, in Bithynia, the reverse of which has the impress of the punch, fashioned somewhat after the shape of the sails of a windmill. This form of reverse is what French numismatists term "*en ailes de moulin*." The obverse of this coin has one of the usual types of the place; a bull, with the letters ΚΑΛΧ (KALCH), the first four of ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝΙΩΝ (KALCHEDONIŌN), of the Chalcedonians, found in full on later coins.

No. 3, Plate III., is a very ancient coin of Corinth; showing an unusual form of punch-mark, forming the figure known in Greek ornament as the "key pattern." The Pegasus on the obverse, which is of a rude archaic style of art, was adopted as the leading type of Corinthian money, in celebration of its subjection by the hero Bellerophon, an early chief of the Corinthians.

On late Corinthian coins, when both sides became perfect, the head of Minerva appears on the reverse. This divinity is stated to have been the protectress of Bellerophon, who was by her assistance enabled to possess himself of the winged horse, and to achieve his famous exploit against the monster Chimæra; a corresponding fable to that of the Athenian Theseus and the Minotaur, which however finds no similar record on the money of Athens. At Corinth there was a temple erected to *Ἀθηναχάλις*—(Minerva the Bridler,) in allusion to that part of the myth which describes Minerva as instructing Bellerophon in the mode of placing the bridle on the winged steed. Pindar grandly describes this feat of Bellerophon.*

The Corinthians, as is well known, founded the colony of Syracuse, in Sicily; and among the earliest money of that flourishing colony we find the following example:—

No. 4, Plate III., is a coin of Syracuse, which exhibits the same pattern of punch-mark as that of the curious coin of the parent city, just described. The obverse of this coin has the head of Jupiter, behind which is the thunderbolt; and in front, the letters ΣΥΡ (SYR). This early Syracusan

coin, though apparently of nearly the same period, is already an improvement upon its Corinthian prototype; and is an evidence of the great progress in art, which the Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily so rapidly made, especially in the fabrication of the public money, in which, in high finish and intricate elaboration, they eventually surpassed the Greeks themselves.

Later coins of Syracuse, struck by the Syracusans, with the Corinthian types of the Pegasus, and the head of Minerva, in honour of the successes of Timoleon, when sent to their assistance from Corinth, are farther and more striking proofs of the superiority of Sicilian art; the Pegasus being more highly finished, and the head of Minerva, though of similar design, being strikingly superior, in every respect, to Corinthian coins of the same period.

No. 2, Plate III., is a very early coin of Selinus, a town on the south coast of Sicily, whose ruins are still one of the greatest wonders of the island; some of the columns of the principal temple being of greater diameter than those of any ancient edifice known, except those of Egypt. Selinus, it is conjectured, took its name from the stream on which it was built—a common practice among the Greeks of Sicily and Magna Græcia—the stream itself having received its name from the abundance of wild parsley—in Greek, ΣΗΛΙΝΟΝ (Selinon)—growing on its banks. This herb became, probably, sacred to the presiding nymph, and so, as a sacred symbol, was adopted as the principal type of the coinage of this city. I have introduced it here in order to exhibit another variety of form in the punch-mark of the reverse, which appears to be a sort of approach, in concave, to the form of the design of the obverse; and so forms a link between the shapeless punch-mark, and the *incused* coins I am about to speak of.

In a former chapter I have described a few rare instances in which very early coins of some of the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, have a punch-mark forming a distinct design; and, to a certain extent, a perfect reverse; the design being in concave, or *incused*, as numismatists express it. These *sunk* designs, were, of course, in relief on the punch; with the intention, no doubt, of increasing the power of that instrument to drive the piece of metal about to be coined, well into

the mould. One of the most ancient examples that can be cited, of this mode of coinage, is, possibly, the half stater of Clazomene, Plate I., No. 13, which, while it has the usual type of that place, the winged boar, in relief on the principal side (see Chap. II.), has on the reverse a rude lion's head, *incused*, or sunk.

THE INCUSED COINAGE OF MAGNA GRÆCIA.

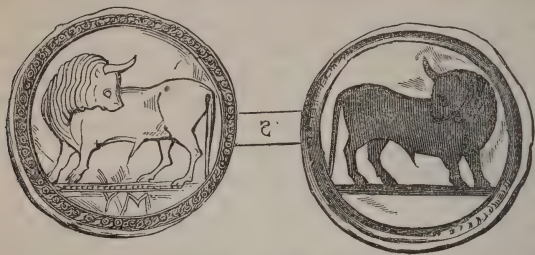
I have here to describe several examples of a perfected system of the *incused* method, which it appears some of the Greek colonies in Magna Græcia adopted even in their earliest coinages. And not only did they thus depart from the more usual practice of the parent states in coining their money, as regards the treatment of the punch, but the whole system appears to have undergone reformation; the pieces produced being no longer thick and hemispherically raised towards the centre, like the older coins of the Greeks of the Peloponnesus, Asia Minor, and the Greek islands: but very thin and flat, the pieces of two drachms being larger in surface than four drachm pieces of the parent states.

This Magna Græcian incused coinage belongs to a very early period, as can be proved by the coins of Sybaris, which city was destroyed in the year 510 B.C.; while previously to this period, the incused mode of coinage had been already abandoned in favour of the more usual method. After the disuse of the incused method, coins of Sybaris, apparently belonging to more than one distinct stage of progress, are known; so that the incused method must have been abandoned for some considerable time previous to the destruction of the city in 510 B.C. Supposing it to have been some forty or fifty years only, it would place the period of abandoning that mode of coinage as early as 550 B.C., and the probable period of the issue of many of the earliest coins of that make, at least as early as 600 B.C. Mr. Millingen, the author who has most successfully studied this class of coins, appears almost tempted to place them, in point of antiquity, before any other coins whatever; and certainly, as far as *ascertained* date, they are so. The coins of Alexander I. of Macedon, are the earliest of either

Grecian or Asiatic coins to which a positive date can be assigned (and that is not earlier than 500 B.C.); which renders the much greater perfection of manipulation of the incused coins of Sybaris, and other places in Magna Græcia, dating 600 B.C., truly extraordinary; for though the workmanship is of Archaic character, it is so complete, and so finished in its style, as to place any other coins, of supposed equal antiquity, at a great distance in these respects. Nevertheless, the original idea of such a mode of fabrication was probably brought to Italy by colonists from Phocæa, or Clazomene, where I have described the partial existence of a somewhat similar practice.

Mr. Millingen suggests the possibility that this method was adopted to prevent forgery; but, if such was the case, the precaution was ineffectual, as forgeries are now in existence executed with great address, which are evidently as old as the earliest issues of the originals. This early money of Magna Græcia is, perhaps, as I have above suggested, the earliest of any description to which a date can be assigned; yet certainly not of the same high antiquity as some ancient gold of Lydia and the Asiatic colonies of Greece, from which the idea of an incused reverse was, no doubt, originally derived. The coins of Alexander I., of Macedon, issued about 480 B.C., are, as I have stated, the oldest to which a positive date can be assigned, either of Greece or Western Asia, while it appears pretty certain that the incused coins of Sybaris were executed between 560 and 620 B.C., in confirmation of which it will be necessary to recapitulate some previously stated facts. Sybaris was founded by a colony of Achæians, in the year 721 B.C., and destroyed in the year 510 B.C.: previous to its destruction the ancient mode of coinage, with an *incused* or *sunk* impression of the type of the obverse on the back, had been abandoned, and the thick coins, in the more usual Greek style, with raised impressions on both sides, been adopted. But these last-named coins *may* have been issued after the re-establishment of the city in 453, which existed under its ancient name till 448 B.C., when it was again destroyed by the Crotonians. During those five years the second class of coins may have been executed—which, however, would still give the earliest incused coins of Sybaris an undoubted antiquity, ranging

from 510 to 550 B.C., supposing, which is unlikely, that it was not before the last-mentioned date that they began to coin money. The wood-cut represents one of the earliest known



Incused Coin of Sybaris.

incused coins of Sybaris, the sunk impression of the reverse being represented by the dark shade —. The inscription is merely ΥM written in archaic characters from right to left, the sigma (ς) being placed face downwards, as is usual in very ancient inscriptions; it would stand in more modern characters, and written from left to right, ΣY (SY), the first two letters of the name of the city. The single type, the bull, alludes no doubt to the river, on or near which the city was built,* and the name of which, “Thurium,” it is supposed to have taken after its second re-establishment. The coins of Sybaris, afterwards struck under its new name of Thurium, belong to the finest period of Greek art, and are among the most beautiful coins known.

I shall now proceed to describe the examples of the incused coinage of Magna Græcia in the order in which they occur on Plate III.

No. 5, Plate III., is an incused coin of Caulonia, an Achaian colony, led by Typhon of Ægium in Achaia, who founded this celebrated Græco-Italic city probably as early as, or earlier than, 700 B.C. The inscriptions on the coins of this city do not read from right to left, like the oldest of Sybaris and Posidonia, and, therefore, though they are of the same character, are probably only cotemporary with the later coins

* See Chapter on Greek Coins of the finest period.—Coins of Gelas.

of that class of the two above-mentioned places; still, at least, as old, most probably, as 500 B.C.,* or, perhaps, half a century might be added to this estimate of their antiquity. The name of this city is abbreviated in the inscription (during the incused period) as KATAO (KAULO). The type is a naked figure, holding a branch in one hand, and supporting in the other a small figure, which holds a smaller branch in each hand. In front of the figure is a stag or fawn; and the whole of these types are repeated in hollow at the back, as shown by the dark shade in the engraving. This type has not been well explained, and all that can be said with certainty respecting it, is that it most likely alludes to some local tradition. In fabric, with the exception of the more modern character of the inscription, it greatly resembles the incused money of Sybaris; but the figure, though still archaic, is in a more advanced style of art, and is executed in the sharpest style; while the border, forming a circle much truer than is usual in any ancient coins except those of this class, is very neatly executed. The reverse is, as stated, a repetition in hollow of the relief on the obverse, and the punch with which it was produced must have been very accurately and carefully finished.

No. 6, Plate III., is an early coin of Tarentum of this class, and of higher antiquity than the Caulonian coin just described; its type is a figure of a young man in the act of striking a lyre, and is supposed, by the most recent authorities, to represent Taras, the son of Neptune, who founded and gave his name to the city. This supposition is confirmed by the presence of the name ΣΑΡΑΤ, written from right to left, in the ancient oriental manner, in front of the figure, just as the name Koras, or Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, appears on coins bearing the head of that semi-divinity. Taras was the reputed son of Neptune; and on later coins of Tarentum, he appears riding on a dolphin, or accompanied by other marine emblems, to be more particularly noticed in treating of coins of a later period, where Tarentan coins

* Mr. Millingen merely says anterior to 389, B.C., the epoch of the destruction of Caulonia; but the incused style had at that period been long discontinued. Later Caulonian coins, with reliefs on both sides, exist, having a stag for the type of the reverse.

hold a most conspicuous place, for number, variety, and beauty.

Tarentum was a colony founded by the Lacedæmonians near the southern extremity of the Italian peninsula, and it not only became the most powerful of the Greek cities of Italy, but its prosperity was also the most enduring, a circumstance attributed to its excellent political institutions, which, like those of Rome and Sparta, and that of modern England, partook, in nearly equal parts, of the democratic and aristocratic principles. Its strong position was another advantage. For five hundred years no enemy entered the walls of Tarentum; and when the Romans took it, in the war with Pyrrhus (272 B.C.), it was by treason of the leader intrusted with its defence—as it was also at its second capture, after the utter discomfiture of Hannibal, in the second Punic war (209 B.C.). After this second reverse, it lost all its exterior territory, but yet preserved its internal independence, and was one of the Hellenic cities of Italy, which, in the time of Strabo, still preserved the language of Greece.

The incused coin under description is possibly nearly as early as the earliest of Sybaris, judging from the very archaic character of the figure of the Taras, and from the fact of the inscription being written from right to left, after the most ancient manner; while the Greek P (R) is written with the tail like the Roman R, only shorter, which partially confirms Pliny's assertion, that the Greek alphabet was originally formed like the Roman.

The coinage of Tarentum, as observed, eventually surpassed in extent, in excellence of workmanship, and variety of types, that of every other Greek city of Italy or Sicily, except Syracuse. The gold bears fifteen or sixteen distinctly different types; and the silver, in the collection of Carelli, presented above eight hundred varieties. But I have only to do in this place with the *incused* money of the early period which has only two types—one, that of the engraving, No. 6, Plate III., just described: a youthful figure, holding a lyre and the *plectrum*, with the inscription, "Taras;" and, the other, Taras riding on a dolphin, executed in a similar style of art, and with the same inscription, and also incused with the type of the obverse on the back. This last type is the origin of the type of such exquisite workmanship, which afterwards appeared on the

didrachms of a later period. The type of the first-named of these two coins is sometimes found *incused* with the type of the second or the reverse; a singular variety, engraved in the work of the Duc de Luynes, entitled "*Nouvelles Annales Archéologiques*."* Some have considered the first to be Apollo, holding in his right hand a hyacinth flower; which would appear to make the figure that of Apollo Hyacinthinus, whose worship was established at Tarentum. Others have deemed the figure that of a Satyr, offering the flower called Satyrion, in memory of the ancient name of the territory upon which Tarentum was founded, which was called Satyrion. But these hypotheses are without sufficient foundation; and it is most probable the device alludes to some local myth, the record of which has not been preserved. The second type, however, undoubtedly represents Taras, the son of Neptune, and the legendary founder of the city which was called after the name of its founder Taras.

The early money of Tarentum is considered by Mr. Millingen less ancient than that of the Achaian colonies; but the inscription, written in very ancient characters from right to left, appears to make it, at least, more ancient than that of Caulonia and other cities; yet that eminent archæologist has, doubtless, good foundation for the remark he has put forth.

No. 7, Plate III., is an incused coin of Crotona. This coin, like those just described of Caulonia and Tarentum, is a silver didrachm. Crotona was an Achaian colony, founded 710 B.C., by Myscellus, of Rhypæ, in Achaia; it rose rapidly to wealth and power, and the coinage is remarkable for its abundance and great variety of interesting types. The principal and most ancient of these types is the tripod, of the Pythian Apollo, whose oracle communicated to Myscellus the locality in which the departing colony ought to erect their new city. Hercules and his attributes were also favourite types on this series of coins, he being the founder of the Olympic games, at which the Crotonians met with unexampled success, having obtained the prize thirteen times in twenty-six Olympiads. The most ancient incused coins of Crotona have simply the tripod for principal type, and the inscription QPO the first three letters of the name; the *koph* being used instead

* Paris, 1837.

of the *kappa*, as was usual on the oldest coins of Corinth; the same type is incused on the reverse.

The tripod which forms the principal type of the most ancient coins of this place, is executed with great neatness and finish, as is also the incused reverse, and the character Q or K indicates considerable antiquity, independent of the style of coinage; the incused manner having, undoubtedly, been abandoned through the whole of the Græco-Italic cities at a very early period.

On later coins of Crotona, one bearing the most interesting devices is that with a tripod, on either side of which are a figure of Apollo, holding an arrow, and the serpent Python, with the inscription ΚΡΟΤΩΝ; and on the reverse, the inscription ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ, in archaic characters, and Hercules seated before a blazing altar, holding a branch of laurel in one hand, and in the other his club. The first of these types alludes to the slaying of the serpent Python by Apollo, for which exploit he received the surname of Pythian, under which he was worshipped at Crotona. The type of the reverse alludes to the expiatory rite of Hercules, after the death of Croton, or to the offering made to his father Zeus, on the establishment of the Olympic games. The branch of olive is that brought by him from the country of the Hyperboreans, of which the crowns of victory were formed.

No. 8, Plate III., is a coin of Metapontum; somewhat more modern, perhaps, but still belonging to the ancient incused period.

Metapontum was founded, apparently, by a Pelasgic colony from Chaone, in the north of Greece, about 700 B.C.* The prosperity of the colony appears to have been great and rapid; and the magnificent gifts of the Metapontians to many Greek temples, recorded by Pausanias, testify to the riches of this flourishing city. Metapontum, with the exception of Tarentum, and the Brettians, is the only Greek state of Italy that struck gold, and the number and variety of the types of its coinage are hardly surpassed by any of the Magna-Grecian series.

The ear of corn, sacred to Ceres, was early adopted by this

* For details, see Millingen's "Numismatique de l'Ancienne Italie."

people, in token of gratitude to that divinity for the fertility of their country; and on the earliest coins it is unaccompanied by any other symbol, and the inscription is simply ME, the two first letters of the name. This brevity denotes a high antiquity, nearly equal, perhaps, to the earliest coins of Posidonia and Sybaris. On later coins of this state, the types become very various and interesting, especially those which appear to have been struck for prizes (*αθλα*) at public games dedicated to the river deity Acheloüs,* of which the type is a bearded figure, with the head of a bull (the usual form of a river god), leaning on a reed, and holding a cup, with a dolphin beneath, the legend being ΑΧΕΛΟΙΟ ΑΘΛΟΝ. The reverse of this interesting coin is the ancient type, the ear of wheat, accompanied by a grasshopper.

As a transition from the reverses formed by incused repetitions of the type of the obverse, we find on the coinage of the Græco-Italian cities incused impressions on the reverse, different from the raised ones of the obverse. Of such is the next specimen.

No. 9, Plate III., is a coin of Sybaris, of a later period, showing a singular variety of this incused style, perhaps the transition back to the more usual Greek style. It has the well-known Sybaritan type on the principal side, while the reverse is incused with the impress of an amphora, much in the manner that the lion's head is struck into the reverse of the gold coin of Clazomene, described in the latter part of chapter II, (p. 19.) It also has a greater resemblance to that style of coinage than the usual incused series, inasmuch as it is thicker, and consequently more fitted to receive a distinct impress at the back.

No. 10, Plate III., is an example of a hemidrachm of Metapontum, in the above manner; having an incused ram's head at the back of the usual type of the place, the wheat-ear.

No. 11, is still another variety of this transition style, also a coin of Metapontum, having a wheat-ear on the obverse, while the reverse is formed of an incused pattern, perhaps a rude representation of the crescent and star. It now only

* Acheloüs, a river of that part of Greece from which the colony originally emigrated.

required the type of the reverse to be raised, like that of the obverse, to bring the mode of fabrication of these interesting coins to the usual mode of Greek coinage, with perfect obverse and reverse, and at a period when perfect reverses were not yet practised in any other region, as far as positive dates can be ascertained.

There are incused coins of other Græco-Italian states, especially Posidonia, the modern Pæstum; but sufficient have been described to show their general character.

THE FLAT COINAGE OF POPULONIA.

No. 12, Plate III., is a coin attributed by Mionnet to Populonia; it exhibits another variety of the early modes of coining, and is the last I shall allude to. In the coins attributed to this Etrurian city, of Tyrrhenian origin, like most of the more flourishing cities of central Italy of that period, the reverses have no *indent*, or punch-mark, and they appear to have undergone that process, but it cannot be asserted to have been driven into the die by means of a smooth and slightly convex punch, the end of which was broad enough to cover the whole piece of metal, instead of bearing only against the centre. The usual type of coins attributed to Populonia is a lion; but similarity of fabric, and the circumstance of the hog being common to later coins of places in the same region, have probably induced Mionnet to attribute the rare and unique coin under description, bearing a hog for type, to that place. It was formerly in his own collection, and is a most interesting monument of ancient art. It weighs 253 grains, nearly the weight of an Athenian tetradrachm.

Much more might be said upon the peculiarities of the early phases of the art of coining money, did space permit. But I shall in the next chapter, proceed at once to describe the progress of the art from the period we have arrived at, to that when *perfect reverses* were generally adopted.

It remains to allude in this chapter, treating, as it does, nearly exclusively of the coins of Magna Græcia and Sicily, to the gradual extinction of the national coinage in these countries, as they became subject to Rome, though I may,

SUCCESSIVE FORMS OF THE HOLLOW REVERSE IN ANCIENT GREEK COINS.



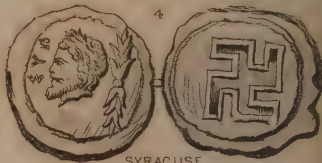
CHALCEDON



SELINUS



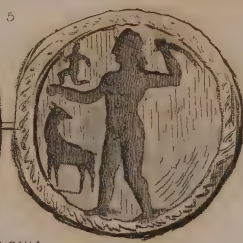
CORINTH



SYRACUSE



CAULONIA



TARENTUM



CROTONA



METAPONTUM



POPULONIA



SYBARIS



METAPONTUM



METAPONTUM

perhaps, have to do so again in another place. The course of disappearance of the national character of the coinage was gradual—first, the appearance of the dots or globules, denotes the extinction of the native standards and their forced accordance with the value of the Roman *as*; the next step was the disappearance of the gold and silver; and, eventually, even of the copper, by the issue of a central coinage exclusively Roman; this, however, did not take place fully and finally till after the reigns of the three or four of first Cæsars, and, in some few cases, still later.

CHAPTER V.

THE PROGRESS OF THE ART OF COINING, FROM THE PERIOD WHEN THE PUNCH-MARK OF THE REVERSE BECAME SYMMETRICAL IN FORM, TILL THE PERIOD OF ITS DISUSE, AND THE ADOPTION OF A PERFECT REVERSE.

In former chapters, I have endeavoured to trace the variations in the earliest modes of fabricating coined money. I shall now endeavour to follow its progress from the time when the punch-mark of the reverse first assumed a somewhat regular form, to the period when the mode of executing both sides of the coin with equal perfection and elaboration was achieved.

From the great variety of early methods described in the preceding chapter, it will be seen that it would be impossible to follow the separate progress of each; and I can only just hint at the curious fact, that in some of the towns of Magna Græcia they passed at once from the curious *incused** method, to that of producing perfect reverses, while in other places the progress from the square punch-mark to the perfect reverse, appears to have been much more gradual, as will be shown by the series of examples about to be described.

It was probably about the year 550 B.C., or rather earlier,

* See coins of Sybaris, &c., chap. iv.

that the degree of symmetry exhibited in the punch-mark of the coin, No. 1, Plate IV., was attained. It is a coin of Abdera, in Thrace. Abdera, as related by Pomponius Mela, owed its origin to Abdera, sister of Diomedes, who, according to the fable, fed his celebrated Thracian steeds on human flesh, and was slain by Hercules. Being abandoned, after a hostile invasion, Abdera was, eventually, re-colonised by Asiatic Greeks, Teians, of Ionia, who, dreading the increasing power of the Persians, abandoned their native town, and fled to the more distant ruined town in Thrace, which they restored. The striking resemblance between the money of Teos and Abdera* is a strong and valuable evidence of this emigration, both having for principal type the griffon. The character of the punch-mark, and the archaic treatment of the griffon, would seem to prove that this rare coin must have been one of the first struck by the new inhabitants of Abdera. The antique spelling of the name, with the P formed like the Roman P, marks a degree of antiquity at least equal to that here assigned to this coin. The griffon was sacred to Apollo, a divinity highly venerated at Teos, the parent state.

Before passing to the next example, the student should carefully observe the obverse and reverse of this rare monument of a peculiar phase of ancient art, in order to better appreciate the importance of the next step in advance.

No. 2, Plate IV., is a Macedonian coin, which, in its mode of fabric, has considerable affinity with those of the neighbouring country of Thrace. The punch-mark is similar to that of Abdera; but the important addition of a *name*, and that, too, of a prince, the period of whose reign is well known, makes it a most important numismatic monument. The name is that of Alexander I., King of Macedonia, who reigned from about the year 500 to 454 B.C. The inscription stands ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ, in the dative case, in the ancient manner, with o instead of Ω. It was till recently thought that this was probably the first coin struck with an inscription on the reverse, as other coins of precisely similar type and fabric in other respects, and evidently of the same epoch, have the *same* punch-mark *without inscription* like the coin of Abdera, described above.

* See chapter on Greek types.

The celebrity of the horses of Thrace and Macedonia led, no doubt, to the adoption of the horse as a principal type on early Macedonian coins, generally accompanied by a warrior, wearing on his head, what has been termed the Macedonian hat. On later coins of this state, the warrior is mounted, and eventually, this early type was abandoned altogether. The coin just described is the earliest regal coin known of a prince mentioned in history, and it consequently makes a most interesting monument in numismatic chronology.

The recently-discovered coins, however, of a Getas, king of the Edoneans, a prince whose name has only been recovered by means of the coins alluded to, bear a strong affinity, in style, to those of Alexander I. of Macedon, and have in addition to the *name*, as on the coins of Alexander, the title of king, and the name of the people over whom he reigned.

Such an inscription would, according to numismatic theory, place the fabrication of these coins at a much more recent period; but the style of art (unless it be a barbaric imitation by later workmen, of Macedonian coins of an earlier period) at once stamps them of the period of Alexander I. They are considered, by numismatists of high authority, to be genuine coins, and hence become most important and interesting monuments in that science. The Edoneans appear to have possessed that range of country on the borders of Thessaly, in which the abundance of silver ore in the mountains, caused mines to be worked by several Greek nations at a very early period, who established colonies there for that purpose. That the Edoneans were in the possession of great monetary wealth is evidenced by these coins, which are of unusually great weight, being *octodrachms*, or pieces of eight drachms, double the size of the highest class of silver coins common in other states of that period. The inscriptions are found in two different dialects, running sometimes ΓΕΤΑΣ ΗΔΩΝΑΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (of the King of the Edoneans, Getas) in the Doric, with Basileus in the genitive case; and sometimes, ΓΕΤΑΣ ΕΔΩΝΕΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, in the Ionic, with Basileus in the nominative case.

Coins of the neighbouring tribes of the Osseans of similar character, are known, but only with the name of the people,

ΟΣΣΕΩΝ, an Æolian genitive (of the Osseans), and no name of a prince.

The woodcut below of a coin of Getas, in the British Museum, will convey a good idea of the style of this coinage, and of its close resemblance, except in the fulness of the inscription, to those of Alexander I.



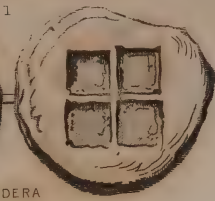
Coin of Getas, king of the Edoneans.

No. 3, Plate IV., is a coin of Clazomene, which is one of the earliest attempts to place a type similar to the principal one, in the punch-mark of the reverse. The obverse bears one of the principal Clazomenean types, the lion; while, in the hollow of the punch-mark, we find, rudely executed, the winged boar,* another and more celebrated symbol of this place. The general appearance and execution of this would probably induce a numismatist to assign it to a period of antiquity about as high as the coin of Alexander I.

No. 4, Plate IV., is an early coin of Syracuse, exhibiting one of the best defined examples of the first introduction of a human head within the four squares of the punch-mark. It is most probably the head of Proserpine, or Koras, as she is commonly styled on Syracusan coins. The outline of the head is harsh and archaic in character, and the hair is formed by a repetition of small round lumps, or dots, to imitate curls, a style common in archaic art of the period to which this coin may, with the greatest degree of probability, be assigned, viz., about 480 or 490 B.C.; as the improved coins attributed to the time of Gelo I., having a perfect reverse,

* See description of plate 1, a *gold* coin of Clazomene.





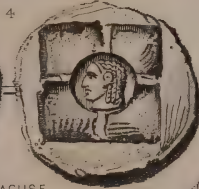
ABDERA



ALEXANDER LOF MACEDONIA



CLAZOMENE



SYRACUSE



CYRENE



ATHENS



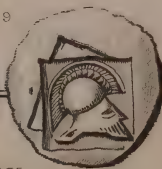
ACANTHUS



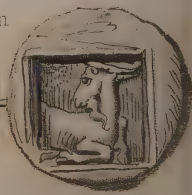
MARONEA



METHYMNE



LETE



ARCHELAUS KING OF MACEDONIA

though still archaic in the style of art (may be dated about 478 B.C.)* The biga, or two-horse chariot, which is here first met with, afterwards became a favourite type upon various coins of Greece and her colonies, and nearly constant on those of Syracuse, having some allusion, it is supposed, to victories in the Olympic Games. The horses, here only stepping, are, on later coins, represented in more rapid action; and were eventually, in the type of quadriga, or four-horse chariot, represented, as we shall see, at full gallop, and with the greatest spirit and beauty. The inscription on the present coin is ΣΡΡΑ, the first four letters of Syracuse.

No. 5 is a coin of Maronea, selected only with the view of exhibiting another link in the progress of the fabrication of the reverse. Maronea, in Thrace, according to Mythologic tradition, was founded by Maron, a companion of Osiris, or, according to others, a son of Bacchus. The usual type of Maronea, is a bunch of grapes, which occurs on coins having the first letters of the name of the place, ΣΑΡ, the Μ placed in the position of a sigma; and the occurrence of the same type on this coin, the fabric of which is of Thracian character, has caused it to be attributed to that place, although the inscription is only the name of an unknown magistrate (ΕΗΝΟΝΟΣ), and consequently conveys no evidence as to the place where the coin was struck. The disposition of the inscription is nearly the same as that on the coin of Alexander I., but the execution is much more finished, both of the reverse, and of the Thracian type, the horse, on the obverse. It may have been struck about 450 B.C.; but, with very few exceptions, such dates are mere hypotheses, and the student must, by comparison and study, work out his own system of chronology for these primitive coins, as it is a branch of numismatics that has not yet seriously engaged the attention of the most learned in the science.

No. 6, Plate IV., is a coin of the Spartan colony of Cyrene, in Africa, selected for the purpose of exhibiting the great advance in the execution and treatment of the head of Jupiter Ammon, introduced in the punch-mark, from the head of Proserpine, on the Syracusan coin, No. 4, in the

* These dates tend to show that art in Sicily was more advanced at this time than in Greece and Macedonia.

plate under description. Battus, of Thera, an island subject to Laconia, founded Cyrene about 640, B.C. The Silphium, a beautiful and valuable plant growing abundantly in that district, was, by the Cyreneans, made sacred to his memory, as the founder of the city, and a branch of the herb was annually carried to the mother country and offered up as a sacrifice in the temple of Delphi. It is this plant which forms the type of the obverse of the coin I am now describing, and continued to form the principal type of the Cyrenean money, long after the subjection of the whole of northern Africa to the power of Rome. The head on the reverse is sharp and spirited in execution, and surrounded by a circular line of dots within the square, leaving space in the angles for the letters KYP, the first three of the name, which, on coins of the Roman period, is found at full length. This coin, though still exhibiting the ancient characteristic of the punch-mark, is, perhaps, not older than about 430 to 450 B.C., or of the time of Pericles, when the art of sculpture was carried to the highest pitch in Athens, by the celebrated Phidias; but the square mark seems to have been preserved with a sort of veneration, long after the excellence of art displayed on the coins where it is found is sufficient to prove that it could have been dispensed with if desired.

No. 7, Plate IV., is a coin of the celebrated city of Athens, and, possibly, as modern as the time of Pericles, though the severe and almost rude archaism with which the head of Athena (Minerva), the tutelary deity of the city, is executed, might incline one to assign it to an earlier period than that in which the great Phidias produced the wonderful metopes of the Parthenon. But it is acknowledged by numismatists that the Athenians paid but little attention to the art displayed on their money, and were surpassed by most cities both of Greece and the colonies in this particular. The reverse has the deep square punch-mark, with the owl, the principal attribute of Minerva, for type; with a spray of olive, sacred to the same divinity, in the corner, and the letters AΘE. This symbol, the owl, gave rise to the well-known anecdote of the Athenian miser, the roof of whose house was said to be infested by vast numbers of *owls*, in allusion to money of the well-known Athenian type being concealed there. Having a few more observations to make

on Athenian coins when speaking of Greek money of the first period, I shall dismiss the subject now.

No. 8, Plate IV., is a coin of Methymne, in the isle of Lesbos, and is selected with the view of showing another style of archaic art of about the same period, as exhibited in the treatment of the head of Minerva, which in this instance is placed within the square punch-mark of the reverse; and which, though the manner of describing the curling hair, by means of small lumps or dots, is similar to that on the Athenian coin, yet the whole treatment is much more refined and delicate. The obverse, which I have not space to engrave, has the figure of a boar, very finely treated, with the inscription, at full length, ΜΕΘΥΜΝΑΙΩΝ, "of the Methymneans."

The word ΜΕΘΥ signifies wine; and that Bacchus was worshipped in this place is proved by his head appearing frequently on its coins. His surname, Methymnian, is no doubt derived from hence. On the early coins of Methymne, the short e (E) is used in spelling the name, but in late coins the long e (H) as ΜΗΘΥ. Arion, the inventor of dithyrambic verse, was born in Methymne, and his figure forms the type of late bronze coins of this place, he is represented sitting on the dolphin, which is said to have preserved him from the waves under the fascination of his singing. He generally holds in one hand the lyre, and in the other the plectrum.

No. 9, Plate IV., is a coin of Lete, which exhibits the improvement in the treatment of the group of a centaur carrying off a female, over the rude figures on a coin of a former period of the same place (No. 10, Plate II.), the hollow punch-mark of which is exceedingly rough and rude, whilst in this instance it is a sharp, perfect square, within which is a helmet, executed with exquisite sharpness and finish, though in a somewhat archaic feeling. The coins of Lete were formerly ascribed to Lesbos by Combe and others, from imperfectly reading the difficult inscription, which Sestini discovered should be read from left to right, when the rude and antique characters evidently make ΛΕΤΑΙΩΝ, "of the Leteans," but they stand ΝΟΙΑΤΕΑ.

Lete, according to Pliny and Ptolemy, was situated on the confines of Macedonia, and the fables of centaurs, &c., in

that and neighbouring districts, abounding in a noble breed of wild horses, arose, no doubt, from the feats performed by those who first subjugated the horse to the will of man, and who, mounted on one of those beautiful animals, and guiding it at will to approach or retreat with super-human rapidity, gave rise in the minds of the vulgar to the idea that the man and horse were one supernatural being.*

We have in modern history a singular and interesting example of similar superstition. When the natives of America, where the horse was unknown, first saw their invaders, the Spaniards, mounted on those animals, and in complete armour, they imagined that the cavalier and steed formed but one being, of supernatural powers and endowments, which they sought to propitiate by prayers and sacrifices. Such groups as those exhibited on the rude money of Lete and other places, were, doubtless, the first step towards the treatment of similar subjects by Phidias, to whose works they bear a striking affinity in the simplicity of their conception, though, as yet, at an immeasurable distance in artistic treatment.

No. 10, Plate IV., is a coin of Acanthus, in Macedonia, which exhibits the same disposition of letters and squares as in the coin of Alexander I., but each compartment is filled by a symmetrical, raised, geometric figure, ornamented with a fine frosting of small dots, being surmounted by a little square; the whole with the inscription *AKANΘION*, being much sharper than in the coin of the earlier period. The obverse of this fine coin represents a combat in which a bull is overcome by a lion; a symbol of Oriental origin described in another place. The inscription beneath the group, imperfect in the specimen I have engraved, is perfect in others, and is *AAEΞIOΣ*, supposed to be the name of a magistrate holding power connected with the issue of the coin of the state, as elsewhere alluded to.

No. 11. Plate IV., is a coin of Archelaus, king of Macedonia, who ascended the Macedonian throne in the year 413,

* The term centaur is most probably derived from the words *κεντέω*, to pursue or to hunt; and *ταυρος*, a bull. The Thracians and Thessalians having been celebrated, from the earliest times, for their skill and daring in hunting wild bulls, which they pursued, mounted on the noble horses of those districts, which were a celebrated breed even in the later times of the Roman Empire.

and reigned till 399 B.C. Here we meet again with the warrior of the coin of Alexander I., holding the two spears; but a century has elapsed, and the art displayed is sufficient to mark the difference of period. The warrior is now mounted, and sits his steed with almost the grace of a work of Phidias, though there is a slight stiffness about the outline, the Macedonian hat, and other details, which, with all its bold relief and fine simplicity, always characterises Macedonian art, even down to the time of Alexander the Great. The reverse of this coin still exhibits the hollow punch-mark, within which is the forepart of a goat, very boldly executed; a type supposed to allude to the siege of Edessa, by Caranus, the founder of the Macedonian monarchy; who, profiting by the darkness of approaching night, followed a flock of goats returning to the town, and entered, unperceived, along with them. He changed the name of the place to *Ægas* or *Ægæ*, signifying a goat, and it became the residence of the Macedonian kings, till Philip II. removed it to Pella; after whose time, however, the kings were still interred in the royal tombs at *Ægas*: other coins of Archelaus have his name, by comparison with which, this can be undoubtedly attributed to him. The square punch-mark appearing on this coin, to which an approximate date can be assigned, viz., between 413 and 399 B.C., shows that that form of fabric remained very late in use; indeed it does not entirely disappear from the Macedonian series before the reign of Amyntas II., who died 367 B.C.

It will be seen, therefore, that this relic of barbaric fabrication was practised, in some places, long after very fine art had been devoted to the coinage; some coins of the finest workmanship, to be spoken of hereafter, having still this peculiarity, while, in other places, the mode of making both sides of the coin equally perfect, for the display of their respective types, without any trace of punch-mark, was attained at a comparatively early period.

In the coins of Sybaris, for instance, after the destruction and rebuilding of the city, 510 B.C., the old style of incused coining, peculiar to Magna Græcia, was abandoned, and the usual Greek method adopted, but with both sides of the coin perfect. Thus, it would appear that the coins of this place were fabricated in a perfect manner, as to equally good

impressions on both sides, as early as 510 B.C., which seems strangely at variance with all the rest of the chronology of numismatic progress.

Some of the Sicilian coins, to which a pretty accurate date can be assigned, such as the fine medallion, for instance, assigned to the time of Gelo (478 B.C.), are perfect on both sides.

But the general adoption of the more perfect process may be taken generally as from 450 to 400 B.C., though, as I have shown, in some places the improvement preceded that period by more than half a century, while in others it was half a century later.

In the next chapter I shall treat of the general Greek coinage of the finest character; which ranges from about 400 to 300 B.C., though occasional fine monuments of numismatic art are found till the encroachments of the spreading power of Rome paralysed the independent energies of Greek art, about a century later.

CHAPTER VI.

AUTONOMOUS* GREEK COINS OF THE FINEST PERIOD.

WE have seen, in former chapters, how the Greek coinage originated; and what was the nature and style of execution of its earliest types, grand even in their early rudeness. We have seen how perfection of execution gradually developed itself; and we shall see in the course of describing the coins engraved in Plate V., how the greatest possible degree of exquisite finish was finally accomplished without losing anything of the grand simplicity of the earlier examples, which, in fact, in the oneness and purity of their conception—however rude the execution—fore-shadowed the future excellence and supremacy of Grecian art; which supremacy and excellence, as concerning the coinage especially, existed from about 420 to 200 B.C.

* The finest Greek coins of the *regal* class will be found treated of in the summary of the various dynasties, accompanied by a plate of specimens.

COINS OF THE FINEST PERIOD OF GREECE PROPER.

No. 1., Plate V., is a silver tetradrachm of Athens. The celebrity of the Athenian capital, as queen of the fine arts in Greece, and in the then civilised world, naturally leads to the expectation that the coins of the luxurious and elegant republic will exhibit a corresponding superiority. But this is not the case; and we find the coins of Athens, though far from contemptible in point of art, yet greatly inferior in elegance of design, and in the sharp and exquisitely expressive workmanship which distinguishes the coinage of the other Greek states, and more especially the Hellenic colonies of Sicily and the south of Italy. These remarks will apply especially to the reverse of the present coin, on which the Owl is stiff and poor in design, even wretchedly so, when compared to the eagles on coins of Tarentum, or on those of the Ptolemies, the bull on those of Thurium, the lion and bull on those of Acanthus, or a hundred other examples of the magnificent artistic design of various animals exhibited on coins of Greek workmanship. The wreath of olive, however, is not without elegance, and alludes, as does the vase on which the owl is standing, to the widely celebrated excellence and value of the oil of the Athenian olive groves. The principal inscription is the customary ΑΘΕ (ATHE) of the Athenian coinage; accompanied by the names ΜΕΝΕΔ (os) ΕΠΙΓΕΝΟ. ΟΦΕΛΟ, which may perhaps be read as Menedos, the son of Epigenos, and Ophelon,—who were, doubtless, the magistrates then having charge of the mint. Athens, when originally founded on the Acropolis by Cecrops, was, as is well known, named after its founder, Cecropia; but when Theseus joined several surrounding suburbs to the ancient fortress-town, and dedicated it to Athena (the Greek Minerva or Pallas) the new city was named after that divinity, Athenæ.

There is also on this coin a small figure of Æsculapius, a sort of mint mark, or perhaps a monetary sign of some foreign mint with which that of Athens was in correspondence. The head of Minerva on the obverse may possibly have been copied from that of the celebrated statue of

Phidias, the description of which, by Pausanias, corresponds with it in every respect. This head, though not equal to the work found on some Greek coins, is yet very beautiful; the various enrichments of the helmet being executed with considerable skill.

The coin is apparently of rather a late period, that is to say, at least a century posterior to the time of Alexander the Great, and after Athens had lost her independence.

Athenian coins of very early periods are engraved in Plates III. and IV.

Much has been written on the subject of the inferiority of the Athenian coinage in point of art. Some consider that its celebrity for weight and purity having rendered it current in many remote countries, rendered it dangerous to change the types in the slightest degree; lest its currency among barbarous or semi-civilised people might be checked; as we know, in our own time, that the Chinese would, a short time back, take no silver except Spanish dollars, and those only of one peculiar type, known as the column type. Mr. Dumersan, however, considers that the mere artistic improvement of the types could not have injured the circulation anywhere, and is inclined to attribute the cause of inferiority to the lack of good die-sinkers, and the determination of the Athenians, notwithstanding this deficiency, never to employ foreigners in such a national matter as the public coinage. The Athenians, he says, had great sculptors, great painters, and great architects; but it does not follow that they had also great engravers.

Coins of the secondary towns of the state of Attica present no remarkable features, and many of them, especially those attributed to the celebrated Marathon, are of doubtful genuineness, or doubtful attribution.

No. 2, Plate V. is a coin of Bœotia. The Grecian state of Bœotia was one of the first to coin money, which was struck after the standard and in the style of the fabric of the coinage of Ægina,* but with the well known national type, the Bœotian shield or buckler.

Bœotia, the country of Pindar, of Hesiod, of Corinna, and other great names; the country where Mount Helicon arose, the fabled seat of the Muses, was yet, according to

* See Chapter on Greek weights.

its own poet, Pindar, the country of a semi-barbarous people.* The Bœotians were in fact more sedulous in cultivating the arts of war than those of peace, as intimated in their national monetary type, the buckler; though seldom successful in war, except during the brief career of the great Epaminondas. They were, however, celebrated as workers of armour, and Venus procured the arms of Achilles, from a Bœotian anvil, while Pindar speaks of Thebes as, χρυσασπις, the city of the golden shields. The Bœotian shield has been thought by some to be a perversion of the Egyptian Scarabæus, the Egyptian name of the Bœotian capital, Thebes, appearing to sanction the idea of an Egyptian origin also, for the money of the country.†

The Bœotian shield was so distinct from all other Grecian types, that it was frequently used unaccompanied by an inscription, as in the present instance, being alone sufficient to distinguish the money of this people throughout all Greece. On the obverse, this coin has a fine head of the Indian Bacchus, crowned with ivy.

It is probably the money of the capital, Thebes, that is most frequently found without any inscription,‡ whilst that of the other cities of the state are distinguished by the initial letters of their names. That of Tanagra, for instance, has TA. and the forepart of a horse for type. The ancient shield forming the reverse. The poetess Corinna was born in this city.

The celebrated Plataea, the scene of the signal defeat of the Persians, has the letters ΠΑΑ on its coins, accompanied by a head of Juno; the reverse, as usual, being the well-known national type, the shield. Some of the coins of Bœotia, probably of Thebes itself, bear part of the name of a magistrate; those with ΕΠΙΑΜ, which is most probably part of that of the great Theban leader and statesman, Epaminondas, the

* The people of Thebes, who had been brought under the domination of Macedon by Philip II., at the death of that prince, slaughtered the garrison he had placed there; to revenge which act of treachery, Alexander, his successor, completely destroyed the city, sparing only the house in which Pindar was born.

† See Introductory Chapter.

‡ It is, however, often found with a Θ, the first letter of ΘΕΒΗ.

name being perhaps struck during his tenure of some office connected with the national coinage.

No. 3, Plate V., is assumed to be a coin of Delphi. The temple of Delphi, which gave rise eventually to the city, arose in consequence of a singular natural phenomenon, of a description which, in remote ages, and upon uninstructed races, never failed to exercise extraordinary influence, especially when artfully turned to account by a priesthood more advanced in knowledge than the mass of the people.

A cavern was discovered, emitting gaseous exhalations, which produced a species of intoxication, under the influence of which, men uttered strange and wild, and often, apparently, prophetic exclamations. This was the beginning of the famous oracle of Delphos; and here arose the celebrated temple, the edicts issued from which, in the form of oracles, influenced the destinies of the then known world; and, through those destinies, even our own.

The Amphictyonic council, composed of twelve deputies from different Grecian states, met at Delphi each spring and autumn. This noble institution, created for the high purpose of an international tribunal,—a tribunal before the judgments of which, guilty kings and guilty nations were made to repair their wrongs,—was one of the finest governmental ideas of the Greeks; and if it failed eventually to fulfil its lofty purposes, it still claims our deepest sympathy and admiration for the noble attempt.

It is thought doubtful whether the coin here engraved was issued by the city of Delphi, as the workmanship is greatly superior to other coins of the district, and as it bears only the inscription AMΦIKTIO (AMPHICTIO), from which circumstance it is thought by some that it may have been not common money, but a medal presented to each member of the Amphictyonic council, as a mark of his dignity. The head on the obverse appears to be that of Apollo wearing the sacerdotal veil, which gives it the somewhat female air, that induced Eckhel to consider it rather the sybil Herophila. The reverse is a full figure of Apollo, clothed in sacerdotal robes, and leaning on the lyre. He holds a branch of laurel, and is seated upon the cortina. The whole coin, obverse and reverse, is of the most beautiful Grecian art.

COINS OF THE FINEST PERIOD, OF THE ASIATIC COLONIES
OF GREECE.

No. 4, PLATE V., is a coin of Ephesus.—Having described specimens of the coins of some of the most celebrated cities of Greece Proper, the next in interest to the student will be those of the Asiatic colonies, and, above all, of Ionia, the most refined and the most celebrated in art and science. Ephesus was the most celebrated city of Ionia,—frequently styled upon coins of the Roman period, “first city of Asia,” and by authors of an earlier date, “the light of Asia,” &c. The coin engraved in Plate V., belongs to the finest period of the monetary art as practised at Ephesus, probably soon after the invasion of Alexander, when the Greek cities of Asia Minor were relieved from the thralldom of Persia.

The ancient type of the *bee* is thus explained by a tradition preserved by Philostratus, who says that when the Athenians led their colony to found the city of Ephesus, the Muses, in the form of bees, flew before them, directing the course of the fleet.

This graceful fable may have been invented after the Ephesians had become celebrated in art and in literature, though, as a colony of the refined Athenians, it would always have been appropriate. Libanius has recorded that the money of the Ephesians bore a stag as one of the principal types, and this type finds its place on the money of Ephesus as one of the attributes of Diana, whose celebrated temple at Ephesus is too well known to require more than a passing allusion. The palm-tree is not so clearly explained, but appears to have been a common Asiatic type.

On money of Ephesus, of the Roman period, the figure of the celebrated deity, *Diana Multimammia*,* is represented, symbolising the general nurse of man and animals. A very ancient statue of Egyptian style, of this character, was venerated in the temple at Ephesus, for as St. Jerome remarks, it was not Diana the huntress, but the *Diana Multimammia*, that was principally worshipped by the Ephesians. On the very early coins of Ephesus, the ancient type of the *bee* appears alone.

* Many-breasted.

No. 5, Plate V., is a coin of Clazomene. This city, like Ephesus, was situated in the Ionian peninsula, and is remarkable, in a numismatic point of view, for the beauty of its coins. The riches of its citizens were proverbial, chiefly arising from the trade in oil.

The head of Apollo on the gold coin I am describing, is of most exquisite workmanship, and appears in full face; a peculiarity adopted on the coins of several places, between about 400 and 350 B.C. Among the most remarkable and beautiful examples of such treatment are the head of Medusa, on the coins of Larissa; the fine head of Apollo on those of Amphipolis; the same head, more broadly treated, on those of Rhodes, the beautiful Arethusa, and the Pallas, on the coins of Syracuse; and also, the fine Apollo on the coinage of the kings of Caria.

The head of Apollo was adopted as a type on the money of Clazomene, as the tutelary deity of the city, where a magnificent temple was erected for his worship. The city was anciently called Grynæa, from which name the deity worshipped at Clazomene was distinguished as the Grynæan Apollo.

The reverse of this exquisite coin bears a swan, in the act of grazing, with ΚΛΑ (KLA) the beginning of ΚΛΑΖΟΜΕΝΙΩΝ (KLAZOMENIŌN), of the Clazomenians, and the name of a magistrate, ΛΕΥΚΑΙΟΣ (LEUKAIOS), accompanied by a monogram.

The swans of Ionia were celebrated as more elegantly formed than those of other countries; but the immediate cause of a swan being found as a Clazomenian type is, that the bird was sacred to Apollo, and also recalled the tradition of Cygnus, prince of Ionia, killed by Achilles at the siege of Troy, who was changed into a swan by his father, Neptune, when the bird received his name. The ancient type of Clazomene was the winged boar,* and also a ram; the latter was probably assumed by this trading community as sacred to Mercury, the god of commerce.

No. 6, † Plate V., is a coin of Smyrna.—Ancient Smyrna, was one of the first cities founded by the Greeks in Asia, and was one of the allied cities belonging to the institution of the

* See description of Plate I.

† Omitted in the Plate for want of room.

Panionian games, along with Miletus, Ephesus, Colophon, the islands of Samos and Chios, &c. Ancient Smyrna was totally destroyed by the Lydians, but an unique coin of electrum is attributed to it by Mionnet, bearing on one side the head of Mercury and on the other a lion.

The city was re-established by Alexander the Great, after his conquests in Asia, upon a new site, and the Autonomous coins of Smyrna found in collections, were all issued after this period; the privilege of striking Autonomous money being secured to them by Alexander and his successors.

The bulk of the silver coins of Smyrna are fine tetradrachms (pieces of four drachms), bearing on the obverse a finely executed female head wearing a turretted crown, which is generally considered an impersonation of the city. Many of the cities of Asia to which the right of issuing autonomous coins was conceded by Alexander, and his successors the kings of Syria, have, from and after the Alexandrian period, a head of this description on the obverse of their coins; among which, those of Damascus are among the best executed, after those of Smyrna.

The reverse of the coin under description is not engraved on Plate V. for want of space: it bears a fine heraldic-looking lion, stepping, within a wreath of oak-leaves similar to that found on the later regal coins of Macedon.* The inscription is ZMTPNAION (ZMYRNAION) spelt with a Z, as Zmyrna, and in the genitive case, of Smyrna.

The addition of another name, as well as that of a magistrate, is very common on the coins of Smyrna, as also various monograms.

No. 7, Plate V., is a coin of Panticapea.—We have seen how great was the excellence of Greek art displayed on the coinage of Ionia, the centre of Greek civilisation in Asia; and the present example will afford us a glimpse of its character when placed at the extreme limit of Grecian influence. Panticapea, a Chersonesean colony of the Milesians, coined money at an early period, and we find that Greek art transplanted to that remote position, became partially imbued with Scythian elements, which, though they modified, yet did not destroy the Greek, and communicated to them a peculiar tone which was far from being unattractive; while

* See coins of the kings of Macedon, especially the last king, Perseus.

the execution of the types of the coinage of Panticapea, at the best period, is peculiarly pleasing on account of its sharpness and finish, as may be observed in the present coin, a gold stater. Mr. Dumersan observes that the head of Pan has not the same dignity and refinement that it possesses on Arcadian coins, which is true, but it has what is perhaps, equally good, a true rusticity of aspect without coarseness, a character so admirably expressed in the famous statue of the Faun, in the collection of the Vatican.

The effigy of Pan was adopted as a monetary type by the Panticapeans, as some say, from the analogy of the name with that of their city, thus becoming what is termed a "speaking" type.* But it will no doubt be found that the analogy itself is much more deeply-seated, and that, in a country where the vine was abundant and the worship of Bacchus general, the name of the new city was not accidental; and the new colony probably dedicated their settlement, situated in the forest wild of the unexplored portions of the country, to the Sylvan God *Pan*, and thence it was that the name of the settlement became associated with that of this divinity, whose effigy would thus find its natural place on the coinage. On the reverse, standing on an ear of wheat, is a griffon, with rounded wings, resembling that of Teos. The griffon holds in its mouth a javelin, the most formidable weapon of the Thracians and other tribes inhabiting the countries bordering on the Bosphorus. In the inscription the name of the place is abbreviated, as ΠΑΝ (PAN), which, at a later period, became ΠΑΝΤΙ (PANTI), and eventually ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑΠΑΙΩΝ (PANTICAPAIŌN), of the Panticapeans.

COINS OF SICILY OF THE FINEST PERIOD.

No. 8, Plate V., is a coin of Syracuse. The coins struck by the Greek colonists of Sicily are among the most beautiful within the whole range of Greek monetary art, and are so numerous and various that a noble cabinet might be formed of them alone.

Sicily was originally called Trinacria, which name, ac-

* See Chapter on Types.

according to Pliny, arose from its three principal promontories,* which are symbolised also in the national monetary types of the three joined legs, called the triquetra. The island was originally inhabited by two distinct races, who appear to have been continually at war with each other. But the records of these aborigines disappear before the presence of Greek colonists, who at an early period settled on the shores of the fertile island. The Corinthians, under the conduct of Archias, appear to have arrived and founded the city of Syracuse, 757 years B.C.

It would be impossible in this volume to allude to a hundredth part of the exquisite types found on the Greek coinage of Sicily; but as select examples of the whole, those of Syracuse may be especially cited.

Of Syracusan coins of the earliest epochs I have spoken in my description of No. 4, Plate III. and No. 4., Plate IV. Of the finest epoch, the celebrated and highly prized *medallions*,† bearing the head of Ceres or Proserpine are the most remarkable. This type was early adopted by the Syracusans, whose worship of Ceres arose no doubt from the fertility of the soil and favourable temperature of the climate for the growth of corn, which caused Sicily, at a later period, to be termed the granary of Italy. The execution of these heads of Proserpine or Ceres under several variations of treatment, is beyond all praise; and our engraving, though of necessity, falling far below the original, will be sufficient to bear out the assertion. The head described as Proserpine or Ceres, is by some thought to be Arethusa‡; and the crown of sedges might appear to strengthen that hypothesis, particularly as Arethusa was worshipped as a river deity in many cities of Sicily.

The primitive Syracusan type, the dolphin, plays a secondary part round the fine head just described; in addition to

* Pelorus, Pachynus, and Lilybæum.

† So called from their unusual dimensions. They are possibly decadrachms. See Chapter on Greek Weights.

‡ The fine head on the obverse of this is supposed, by Dr. Nøhden, following Torremuzza, to be that of Arethusa. The Nymph of the Spring or Fountain of Arethusa, near Syracuse, certainly received divine honour from the Syracusans. Strabo describes the fountain, or rather as we should call it, a small lake, as being formed of the sweetest water, and containing a great multitude of fishes: from it issued a stream which flowed into the sea.

which is the inscription ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ (SYRAKOSIŌN), of Syracuse, or of the Syracusans, occupying the upper part of the coin. The reverse of this coin presents what may be considered one of the masterpieces of the art of die engraving; it is a quadriga, or four-horse chariot, which, though on so small a scale, is yet treated with all the breadth and grandeur that Phidias might have imparted to it as a metope of the Parthenon. The magnificent subject of the quadriga, accompanied by a figure of Victory crowning the driver, which forms so frequent a device on many ancient coins, records most probably triumphs at the Olympic games achieved by the citizens of towns issuing coins of this type. The type, in the present instance, is accompanied by a complete suite of armour, a *panoplia* (πανοπλία) consisting of a coat of mail (thorax); helmet, shield, spear, and greaves (ocreae), which were defences for the leg; beneath, is the word ΑΘΛΑ (ATHLA), signifying prizes, or, in the Doric dialect, the *reward of victory*. Greek writers do not allude to such prizes being distributed at the Olympic games, and only speak of the *στέφανη*, or wreath, using the verb *στέφανιζω*, to crown or cover with a wreath; but there are records of prizes at similar games, consisting of a golden tripod, &c. And Virgil especially mentions sacred tripods, arms, splendid robes, and talents of gold and silver. It is possible that Pindar and other Greeks who allude to the subject, considered the wreath the true symbol of honour, and so did not allude to the prizes consisting of armour, &c.*

The inscriptions on the Syracusan coins are in the Doric or Peloponessian dialect, being a Corinthian colony; and this circumstance shows the extensive range of study necessary to the full appreciation of the value of historical evidence afforded by coins.† In addition to the larger inscriptions, recent numismatic discovery has detected smaller ones, hitherto unperceived or thought to be the names of magistrates, but which, it is highly probable, are actually those of the matchless artists who produced these and other

* There are archaic medallions of the same weight, which are attributed to the time of Gelo I., perhaps 480 B.C.; the fine ones, above described, are assigned to the age of Dionysius, probably from about 404 to 420 B.C.

† See Chapter on Inscriptions.

exquisite Sicilian coins that have been preserved to us, for other particulars respecting which I must refer the reader to the chapter on "the art displayed in the Greek coinage," and the chapter on Greek inscriptions.

Many other types are found on the coins of Syracuse, such as the head of Jupiter the Liberator; adopted, a passage in Diodorus informs us, after they threw off the yoke of the tyrant Thrasybulus, when a temple was erected to Jupiter the Liberator; the Eleutherian games, or games of Liberty, were established at the same epoch. On the gold of Syracuse, Diana ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ, or Diana the Saviour, was struck, to commemorate some great benefit supposed to be derived from the protection of that divinity.*

The representation of river gods occurs on several coins of Sicily, of Magna Græcia, and occasionally on coins of other places.

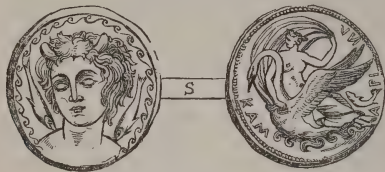
The head, a coin of Catanea,† in the collection of Lord Northwick, accompanied by aquatic symbols, a fish and a prawn, is that of the river deity Amenanus. The Amenanus, or Amenas, as Pindar calls this river, still flows through the modern Catana, and its present name is Giudicella. The reverse of this beautiful coin is the common Sicilian type, the quadriga, with ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΩΝ (CATANAIŌN), of the Catanians. On other coins of Catana, there is a bull on the reverse, which is supposed also to represent the river Amenanus. The figure of a bull was frequently used to symbolise a rapid stream; first, perhaps, by the poetic imagination of Homer, who likened a bull to a river, when, in describing the conflict between the river deity, Scamander,‡ with Achilles, he said of the former, that he roared like a bull, μεμυκὼς ἥϊτε ταῦρος. The idea was afterwards amplified by other poets, and perhaps led to the fable of the combat of Hercules with the river-god Achelous, the latter changing himself into a bull, in which form he was conquered, losing one of his horns. Not only does the roaring of the bull suggest to the imagination

* A description of the coins of the kings of Syracuse will be found among the regal Coins. † Coins of Sardis, plate 1.

‡ The Scamander, as is well known, flowed through the plains of Troy; and when Xerxes passed over that famous plain on his way to invade Greece, the Persian hordes are said by contemporary historians to have drunk it dry.

the roar of an impetuous torrent, but the impetuosity of the attack of the bull, carrying all before it, suggests the power of rushing waters. When intended as the symbol of a river, the bull is generally accompanied by some aquatic emblem, as a fish, a shrimp, a shell, &c.

The annexed woodcut represents a coin of Camarina in Sicily. Camarina was a colony on the south coast of Sicily,



founded by the Syracusans, about 600 B.C., destroyed by them in the 57th Olympiad, and rebuilt in the 82d. The beautiful coins attest that Camarina was once great and opulent. Near the town was a lake, and through the lake the river Hipparis flowed into the sea; immediately to the eastward flowed another river, the Oanus. Hipparis is supposed to be personified by the youthful head, with the budding horns of a bull; on the present coin is a corroboration of what has been said upon the subject of that symbol in the description of the preceding coin. The bordering round this beautiful head is formed of the well-known Greek pattern, used to indicate water, which beautifully expresses the curling and breaking into foam of a succession of small wavelets.

The meaning of this border in the present instance is placed beyond a doubt by the treatment of the water beneath the swan on the reverse of this coin. The beautiful female figure, gracefully forming a sail with a mantle, is either the nymph of the river Oanus, or Leda; the children of Leda (the Dioscuri) being venerated in several parts of Sicily.

No. 9, Plate V., is a coin of Gelas.—The coinage of the Greek city of Gelas, in Sicily, affords us an example of one of the most remarkable types found on Greek coins, that of the human-headed bull. This type is also found on coins of

Acarmania, a province of Greece, in which case it personifies the river Achelous, which separates Acarnania from Ætolia. The same type occurs on the coins of the Greco-Italic city of Neapolis (the modern Naples), and may perhaps have been brought to Italy by the Achaian colonies, as we learn from coins of Caulonia that games were established in Italy in honour of the Greek river deity, Achelous. That it reached Europe from the East originally, is rendered probable by the recently discovered sculptures of Nimroud and Khorsabad, and in the East it probably signified the union of intellect and strength;* the human head symbolising intellect, the body of the bull strength. In the East the same myth appears to be occasionally expressed by the figure of a lion with a human head. The lion overcoming the bull on Persian sculptures, and on the coins of Acanthus, is supposed by some to symbolise the sun or heat (in the form of the lion) overcoming the damps of the earth, represented in the bull. When it occurs on Greek coins it generally symbolises a river, which, however, is more commonly expressed by the simple figure of a bull, to be alluded to in the description of the next coin. In the present instance it is doubtless a personification of the river Gelas, which flowed close to the city, and is a pleasing example of the best manner of the Archaic period. The reverse bears the figure common to early Syracusan coins, and although of a somewhat archaic character of workmanship, is yet sharply and pleasingly modelled, and is interesting as showing the transition from the stiffest archaic style towards the freedom of the high school which succeeded it.

Among Sicilian coins issued during the finest period of art, those of Agrigentum must not be passed over without notice, being second only to those of Syracuse. This city was built upon the river Acragas, so called probably from abounding in crabs, *χραγών*; from which circumstance the crab, being perhaps at an early period made sacred to the river deity, became the principal type of the money of this city, and was never discontinued, either as principal or secondary, among the types of the national coin. The ancient name of the city was the same as that of the river, Acragas, but became eventually Agrigentum, or rather

* In Lord Northwick's collection. See Dr. Næhden.

Acragantum. Acragantum, was originally built on Mount Acragas; and the existing ruins near the modern city of Girgenti, attest its ancient extent and splendour. On coins of this city, of the fine period, the obverse is generally an eagle destroying a hare, a type which has been very variously explained.

The monster Scylla, symbolising the well-known dangers of the strait between Italy and Sicily, occupies one side of a remarkable coin of Agrigentum, in the collection of Lord Northwick; and this figure well accords with the description of Virgil. Between each of the dolphins' tails appear intermediate heads of wolves,—the noise of the monster being said to resemble the barking of dogs or howling of wolves. The crab, a production of the Italian and Sicilian seas, is frequently found forming one of the minor types of other maritime towns of the island; but seldom as a principal one, except on the money of Agrigentum.

The eagles and the hare of Agrigentum coins have been supposed to symbolise the victory of the Sicilian chiefs, Gelo and Theron, over the Carthaginians and Anaxilaus the tyrant of Messina, which latter had chosen the hare as his ensign. Others suppose the eagles (birds of Jove) to represent the god in a double form, as divine and human; and that the hare is Proserpine.

Other Greek towns of Sicily have issued coins nearly equal to those of Syracuse and Agrigentum, but it would be impossible to particularise them all in the space which I can here allot to this branch of the subject.

THE COINS OF CARTHAGE.

The coins of Carthage have not been referred to in following the course of progress of primitive coinage and its subsequent gradual improvement, as there is no evidence that the Carthaginians coined money previous to their close neighbourhood with the Grecian colonists of Sicily. The coinage of Carthage, therefore, belongs only to the period when the art was fully developed. Carthaginian money is so closely connected with that of Sicily, in consequence of the extensive colonies of Carthage in the northern portion of

the island, especially that of Panormus, the modern Palermo, that it appears more convenient to describe it here than when referring to Africa, where no fine autonomous coins are found, except those of Cyrene. It has been thought that the entire coinage of Carthage was executed by Greek artists in their Sicilian colonies; but the latest opinions of numismatists are in favour of supposing most of the coins with Punic inscriptions, to have been struck in Africa, as there would have been no difficulty in obtaining Greek artists to execute them there; and as it is well known that the architecture of Carthage itself was equal to that of Greek cities, and possibly in great part the work of Greek architects. It seems more natural, therefore, to class the coins on which Greek inscriptions accompany Carthaginian types, as coins struck in Carthaginian Sicily; and such as bear Punic inscriptions only, as being really struck at Carthage; whether by native or Greek artists is unimportant.

No. 10, Plate V., is a Carthaginian coin, which, from the beauty of its workmanship, has been considered undoubtedly attributable to a Greek artist, and it is classed with the coins of Panormus, although the Punic characters do not appear to indicate that city: it may, therefore, with equal probability, be considered the work of a Greek or Sicilian artist in Africa.

To understand the nature of the Carthaginian types it is necessary to remember the tradition of the foundation of the city, alluded to by Virgil and Silius Italicus. It is related that the shipwrecked and fugitive Phoenicians, accompanied by their queen, Dido, when digging the foundation of the city which was to become their African home, discovered the *branch of a palm-tree* and the *head of a horse*. These were considered good omens, and the word signifying the head of a horse, *Cacabe*, in the Punic tongue, was possibly adopted as the name of the future city, *Cacabe* being described by some authors as the native name of Carthage. Thus the palm-tree and the head of a horse became sacred symbols in Carthage, and were consequently adopted as monetary types, according to the custom of the Greeks, their predecessors in the practice of coining money. On the present coin, the head, which has none of the attributes of a Grecian divinity, may perhaps be considered as the

idealised portrait of Dido, wearing a Phœnician head-dress, somewhat similar in character to the Phrygian cap, which is the more probable, as the enriched bandlet or fillet would naturally suggest its being a regal portrait, and the period (as shown by the fabrication of the coin) is one at which similar impersonations were occasionally adopted: on the reverse the lion replaces the more usual and earlier type of the horse, but the palm-tree is still present. The Punic inscription beneath has not been explained.

M. Pellerin, and M. Bayer in his work *De la Lengua de los Fenice*, decypher the Punic inscription of the fine coin engraved below in the following manner:—



M. Pellerin says, "If the second letter* is a *Koph*, as those have pretended who decyphered the Phœnician inscription of the coins of Coreyra beginning with the same character, then, reckoning the first a *Beth*, which is often a servile or merely prefixed letter, the second a *Koph* (K), the third a *Resch* (R), the fourth a *Koph* (K), and the fifth a *Thau* (TH), we obtain the Hebrew בקרקת, which, the prefix *Beth* being silent, gives the equivalent to Karkath, which he considers may have been the Punic name of the city, made by the Greeks, Καρκάδων (Karkadōn), only changing *Thau* (equivalent to T) into the Greek *Delta* (D), to soften the pronunciation, according to their custom. The Latins, on the other hand, he considers, may at first have transposed the *Koph* (K) and the *Thau* (TH), and thus have made Karthac, from which the transition to the more latin form, Karthago, is easy. To understand

* These inscriptions must always be read from right to left.

the foregoing explanation of this Punic inscription, it will be necessary for the student to recollect that the vowels are suppressed, and thus, in reading the word in Roman characters, and suppressing the prefixed *Beth* altogether, he will have to supply the vowels, by which means, and reading from right to left, he will obtain the following result. HT(∞)KЯ(∞)K

M. Bayer gives a different interpretation; so different, that the student may thence infer how far philologists have yet advanced in decyphering Punic inscriptions.

The first letter, says the Spanish *savant*, is a Hebrew *Beth*, ב (B), as acknowledged by all archeologists; the second, M. Bayer reads as different to the fourth, though it appears the same on the coin, but he perceives a slight difference, enough to make him consider it equivalent to the Hebrew ס; the third he considers, with others, equivalent to the Hebrew *Resch*; the fourth he esteems a *Tsade*; and the fifth, as other antiquaries, a *Thau*. He thus succeeds in obtaining the word Birtsath, read from right to left, supplying the vowel *a* as follows, the *Ts* being in the original expressed in a single character, as in the Hebrew.

This interpretation has the advantage of restoring a value to the first letter; but the strained interpretation of the second, which appears decidedly the same as the fourth on the coin, renders it like the former, open to grave suspicion.

It is, nevertheless, very ingenious, and (though not in the right way) the author may have stumbled on the real meaning of the word. For the *Byrsa* was, as is well known, the upper portion or citadel of Carthage, the Acropolis in short, which, like that of Athens, was the nucleus from which the city afterwards spread out in increasing suburbs. As in Athens, where, as we learn from ancient authors that the weights connected with the coinage were kept with great care in the Acropolis, so the *Byrsa* of Carthage may have been the seat of the mint; and thus, if the happy guess of M. Bayer should prove true, it will show what has long been suspected, that the Carthaginians were not, as the elder numismatists supposed, dependant upon a Sicilian coinage for all their vast commercial, national, and warlike purposes, but had a national

mint established in the Acropolis of Carthage, where, if such was the case, no doubt Greek artists were employed by them in the execution of their coins.

The Carthaginian coins struck in Spain, at the fine Punic colony of Gades, and other Spanish settlements, are of inferior workmanship, but may be recognised by the types and the Punic inscriptions. They are very numerous.

COINS OF THE FINEST PERIOD OF THE GREEK CITIES OF THE SOUTH OF ITALY.

The earlier coins of Magna Græcia, as southern Italy was termed, from being crowded with flourishing Grecian settlements, have been described among the coins engraved in Plate III; and it now only remains to mention a few belonging to the finest epochs.

No. 2, Plate V., is a coin of Heracleum, in Lucania, a province of southern Italy. It is one of many cities bearing that name, as being founded by Hercules. The coins of this Italo-Grecian city are sometimes of remarkable beauty; and the one here engraved is of that class,—the head of Pallas, highly characteristic of the finest class of Magna-Græcia coins, strongly recalls the fine heads of a similar character on the coins of Thurium. The chimæra enriching the helmet is the monster Scylla, a personification of the dangers of the well-known Strait of Messina, so vividly described by Virgil, and alluded to in my description of the coinage of Agrigentum. The reverse is a fine group, consisting of Hercules overcoming the Nemæan lion, the inscription accompanying which, ΚΑΑ, does not seem to refer in any way to the name of the city. This coin has, however, been attributed to Heracleum in Lucania, on account of the Hercules type of the reverse, and the style of art displayed in the head of Minerva on the obverse, which is evidently that of a Magna-Græcia artist, while other similar coins have an inscription, which leaves no doubt as to the attribution. Attributions are frequently made in a similar manner; thus, a coin of Elea, in the same province, bears a very similar head of Pallas; the reverse has a lion springing upon a stag, without any other inscription than the letter Α: but other

coins with precisely the same types, and apparently of the same period, have the inscription in full—ΤΕΛΗΤΩΝ, “of the Eletons” or “Hyeletons;” leaving no doubt as to the source of those with A only.

The coins of the long flourishing city of Tarentum, are among the most numerous and various of those of any town in Southern Italy; among which, the fine silver didrachms with the figure of Taras, the founder, riding on a dolphin, are perhaps the most striking. The gold coins, with the noble head of Jupiter, and the fine eagle on the reverse, are also very fine, and a great variety of types might be cited.

The luxurious city of Sybaris, afterwards Thurium, has left an exquisite series of coins; and Neapolis, the modern Naples, the last of the Greco-Italic cities to fall completely under the Roman dominion, furnishes such ample numbers and great variety, that a fine cabinet might be formed exclusively of its coins.

Some of the coins of other Greek cities of Italy, have been mentioned in treating of the earlier periods of coinage. (See description of Plate III.) But the coins of the Bruttians must not be passed over, being remarkable as those of a barbarous native tribe, who, after subduing some petty Greek towns, so rapidly acquired their refinements and knowledge of art, that they issued coins little inferior to those of the Greeks themselves. They generally bear the inscription, ΒΡΕΤΤΙΩΝ, of the Bruttians, or, perhaps more correctly, Brettians. Their most common types are the head of Jupiter, and the eagle, but just about the time of the fall of the whole of Italy under the yoke of Rome, fine gold coins of the Brettians are found with the Roman type of the Dioscuri. For some time after the first subjection of the Greek cities of Southern Italy to the power of Rome, a show of independence was granted to them; and even to the time of Cæsar, they appear to have continued to coin autonomously. The coins, however, issued after the loss of their independence, were principally copper, and of a different standard and value to that of Greece, being portions of the Roman ÆS or AS, to be spoken of in treating of the Roman coinage. They are marked with *globules* like the Roman portions of the *as*, to denote the number of ounces (*uncie*) that they represent, the *as* being originally a pound of

copper consisting of twelve ounces. The engraving below shows an example of these Italo-Grecian coins of the latest epoch, when Grecian liberty, and consequently Grecian art, had assumed in a great degree a Roman character; it is a copper coin of Capua after its subjection to Rome.



The silver coinage of the southern parts of the Italian peninsula became Romanised also, and the numerals XX., X., V., &c., are found upon them, denoting amounts in the Roman silver standard, instead of the globules used in the copper coinage.

This sort of semi-independent coinage quite disappeared in Italy and Sicily after the reign of Augustus, and the Roman coinage, with the exception of that of a few favoured Greek cities, and a few semi-independent provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, became the coinage of the whole civilised world.

In concluding this brief notice of the Greek coinage of the finest period, I may, in a few summary observations, state in what manner this period of perfection disappeared. In Asia, Macedonia, and Epirus, the regal coins—after the time of Alexander the Great,—to a great extent superseded the autonomous coinage of cities, and the gradual decay of the regal coins will be found noticed in the account of the coinages of the different leading dynasties of Greek origin. In the states of Greece Proper a few fine autonomous coins were struck for a short time after this period, but we find even the Athenians coining under the protection of Demetrius Polyorcetes, and Mithridates; and the execution of their money gradually declined till the eventual domination of Rome swept away the last vestiges of the ancient style of art, on the Greek coinages; for although the Romans conceded the privilege of coining their own money to many celebrated Greek cities, both in Europe and Asia, such privi-

leged places ceased to coin anything but copper, and seem to have been so influenced by Roman manners, that an entirely new style of coinage arose, which, though not like the old Greek, was yet dissimilar from the Roman, and which will be found described in the Roman series, under the head of "Greek Imperial."

A List of some of the most Remarkable Types found on Autonomous Greek coins in Asia, Greece Proper, Italy, Sicily, &c. &c.*

MASSILIA (Marseilles), a lion standing in repose, the tail coiled up.

CYRENE, the Silphium, a plant growing in that region.

THASUS, Hercules on one knee in the act of drawing the bow.

MYTILENE, a lyre.

MITHYMNE, a boar.

CARYSTE, a cock.

CHALCIS, a lyre.

PHOCIS, a bull's head, front view.

AMPHIPOLIS, a torch in a kind of stand.

OPUNTIA (of Locris), Ajax, armed with a sword and shield.

LAMIA, a vase surmounted with a leaf of ivy.

LARISSA, a bridled horse stepping.

LEUCADIA, the prow of a vessel.

ACARNANIA, Apollo sitting on a kind of throne extending one arm with a bow.

ÆTOLIA, wild boar.

ETOLIA, a hero leaning on a knotted stick, on one arm a mantle and sword.

SYCION (time of Achaian league), a Chimæra, a monster formed of a lion and a stag, or some other animal.—And above, a dove within an olive wreath.

MELOS, an apple.

NAXOS, a crouching figure of Silenus, holding in one hand a diota or vase, and in the other a thyrsus.

CROTONA (Magna-Græcia), a tripod.

THURIUM (ditto), a bull in the act of butting.

SYBARIS (ditto), a bull in repose.

AINOS (Thrace), reverse—a goat.

ACANTHUS (Macedonia), a lion springing on the back of a bull; very early coins of this city have sometimes the fore part of a bull only.

HYLEA or ELEA (Lucanian, Magna-Græcia), a lion overpowering a stag.

* On late Coins, these types are most frequently found as reverses; the head or figure of a deity occupying the obverse.

- CARTHAGE, a horse's head and palm-tree; sometimes a lion and a palm-tree.
- METAPONTUM (Magna-Græcia), an ear of wheat.
- HERACLEA (ditto), Hercules overcoming the lion.
- TENEDOS, a double-headed axe, &c., &c.
- CNOSSUS (Crete), the Labyrinth and other small types.
- CHERSONESUS (ditto), Apollo sitting on the cortina, playing the lyre.
- PREÆSUS (ditto), a bull.
- CYDONIA (ditto), a wolf suckling a child.
- COS (island), a crab and club.
- SAMOS (island) — by some attributed to Sardis of Lydia,—a lion's head, full face; and often on the reverse, a bull's head in profile.
- CYZICUS, sometimes lion's head full face, similar to the above; and on early coins the winged boar.
- TENOS (Cyclades), two dolphins and a trident.
- ANDROS (ditto), a panther.
- SYROS (ditto), a goat and an ear of corn.
- MYARA, a tripod.
- CORINTH, the pegasus.
- EURYDICEA, a tripod.
- MESSENIA, a tripod.
- PYLOS (Messenia), a trident.
- LACEDEMONIA OR SPARTA, capital of Laconia, the caduceus of Mercury and sometimes a sitting Hercules leaning his left arm on a club.
- PHENEOS (Arcadia), Mercury carrying the infant Arcas.
- STYMPHALIA, Hercules in the act of striking with the club.
- TREZENE (Argos), a trident.
- CHIOS, a diota or amphora, assumed at a later period than the original type of the griffon.
- CUMEA (Æolia), a bridled horse, stepping.
- CNIDUS (Doria), a lion's head in profile.
- MYLASSA (Caria), a double-headed axe with a laurel wreath.
- HISTIÆA, a female figure sitting on the prow of a vessel.
- LYTHUS, the head of a boar.
- MELITA, a mythic figure with four wings.
- MESSINA, a rabbit.
- MILETUS, a lion and star.
- NEAPOLIS (in Macedonia), a mask with the tongue put out.
- PERGAMUS, an eagle on a thunderbolt.
- POSIDONIA, Poseidon or Neptune.
- SEGESTA, a dog.
- SELEUCIA, the thunderbolt with flames projecting from each side.
- SIDON, Hercules bending his bow.
- SINOPE, an eagle holding in its claws a fish.
- TARENTUM, a youth riding a dolphin, also the cockle-shell.
- TAUROMENIUM, a bull butting.
- TRALLES, a serpent issuing from mystic chest, like the cistophoræ.
- ACHAIA, the monogram of Achaia, and a lyre with a wreath.

- ARGOS, the fore-part of a wolf, more anciently two dolphins; on later coins, a bird perched on a club.
- AMISUS, the parazonium.
- ANTIOCH, a ram running, the head turned back towards a crescent and stars.
- ARCADIA, Pan sitting on a rock.
- CALES (and other Campanian cities), a cock.
- NEAPOLIS (and Campania in general), a human-headed bull crowned by a flying Victory.
- CAMARINA, a swan in various positions, sometimes carrying a nymph.
- CENTURISSA, a bird on a ploughshare.
- CHALCIS, an eagle and serpent on a thunderbolt.
- CYME, a kind of diota, or rather a jug with one handle.
- DYRRACHIUM, the gardens of Alcinous.
- ELIS, the thunderbolt.
- FALERIA, the thunderbolt enriched with ornaments.
- GORTYNA, Europa on the bull.
- ASSUS (Mysia), a griffon beneath, a bunch of grapes.
- PARIUM, a mask or full face with the tongue thrust out (a Gorgon), also a bull and horse walking.
- ABYDOS, a full face or mask.
- ILIUM, Minerva with a distaff and spear.
- SIGEUM, like Athens, an owl, sometimes side and sometimes full face.
- TEMNOS, Fortune with her attributes.
- COLOPHON, a horseman and a lyre, frequently a dog.
- ERYTHRÆ, a bow and quiver, and a club.
- SAMOS, a bull, a peacock.
- EPIDAUROS, a serpent twined round a staff.
- CARYSTUS, (Eubœa), a decorated head of a bull.
- CHALCIS, an eagle with a serpent in its claws.
- ERETRIA, a bull lying down.
- ANDRUS (island), a vase with two handles, and a bunch of grapes.
- CEOS (island), fore-part of a dog.
- CARTHEA, fore-part of a dog surrounded with rays, and a bee.
- CORESIA, a star or a bee.
- PAROS (island), a goat and a star.
- PHANAGORIA, a bow and arrow.
- AMISUS, an eagle on a thunderbolt.
- CHALCEDON, a lyre between two olive trees.
- CARDIA, a heart, the fore-part of a lion, a lion and ear of barley.
- THASSUS, a branch of vine.
- ÆGAL, an ass suckling a Chimæra.
- AMPHIPOLIS, a trophy.
- LARISSA, sometimes in the indented square a man overpowering a bull.
- APOLLONIA (Illyria), a cow suckling a calf.
- AXIA (Locris), a thunderbolt.
- THESPIÆ, a lyre with a laurel garland.
- ELEUSIS, a sow.

- LACEDÆMON, a club and the inscription within a garland.
 GAULOS (island), a tripod.
 CÆNE (island), a griffon and a grasshopper.
 SARDINIA, three ears of corn on one stalk.
 OLBIA, an eagle with a fish, other and very various types. *See*
 Didot.
 ISTRUS, an eagle with a dolphin in its talons.
 ABDERA, a lyre, a griffon.
 BYZANTIUM, a crescent and stars.
 MARONEA, bunch of grapes, a fore-part of a horse.
 MESEMBRIA, a crescent.
 VELIA, a lion.
 ZACYNTHUS, Æsculapius sitting on a rock and placing his right hand
 on a serpent.
 ZANCLE, a dolphin, or sometimes a sickle, or as some describe
 it, the semicircular port of a maritime town.
 BRUTIUM, sometimes a naked warrior, the dioscurei, an eagle, &c.
 CAMARINA, sometimes a lizard.
 LEONTINI, a female figure holding two ears of corn.
 MAMERTINI, a naked warrior with lance and buckler.
 PANORMUS, a horse, &c.
 SEGESTA, a dog beneath a globe.
 SYRACUSE, a winged sea-dog, a dolphin, a quadriga, &c.
 ORTHOSIA, a panther.

CHAPTER VII.

REGAL COINS OF THE GREEK SERIES.

OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN AUTONOMOUS AND REGAL COINS.

THE coins previously described in this work have been principally such as belonged to what is termed the *autonomous* class; that is to say, such as were struck by republican states and free cities, and bore simply religious or national types.

Regal coins are distinguished from these in numismatic classification, as, being such as bear the name, and subsequently the portrait of a prince, in addition to, and sometimes to the exclusion of, national types; as those issued by

the kings of Syria, and the kings of Egypt, along with which may be classed those of the kings and tyrants of Sicily, those of the kings of Bythynia, Pontus, &c.

Other coins of princes are classed with Greek Regal coins (as bearing Greek inscriptions), which belong to the decadence of the art, and extend to the fall of the Roman empire—or even later, as the Gaulish coins of the Bosphorus, or second Bactrian series.

Coins, however, may have been issued by princes which bear neither the name or portrait; and, in that case, they would be classed with autonomous coins, for want of intrinsic evidence of their being Regal; such, for instance, as the coins by some attributed to Cræsus king of Lydia, which, as they only bear the national types of Sardis, must be classed as autonomous coins of that city. But it is not necessary to enlarge further upon the subject in this place, as I have referred to it in detail in the chapter on the Greek weights, denominations, &c., connected with the coinage. Suffice it to say that the Regal coins belonging to the Greek series are very numerous, and belong to widely different epochs. Some belong to a period not far removed from the infancy of the art, such as those of Alexander of Macedon, and those of Getas, king of the Edoneans; but the most prized, generally the most interesting, and, at the same time, the most beautiful, are the noble series issued by Alexander the Great, and his successors, the kings of Egypt and Syria, and the Parthian princes, which are generally classed along with them. To these are generally added the Sassanian series, although the inscriptions are no longer Greek.

With this brief introduction, I shall proceed at once to describe the most important series of Regal coins in the order of their relative antiquity and historical importance.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF MACEDONIA.

(See also Plate VI.)

This series of regal coins is, perhaps, more interesting than any other,—first, on account of the high antiquity which can be assigned to its earliest examples; and, secondly, on account of its containing the first great issue of gold in

Europe, that of Philip II., after he became possessed of the gold mines of Crenides, afterwards called Philippi; and, lastly, on account of the magnificent and abundant coinage of Alexander the Great.

Caranus, the first recorded king of Macedon, reigned about the year 887 B.C., and was a brother of Phidon, king of Argos, who is generally believed to have been the first prince in European Greece to adopt the use of coined money.* From this relationship between the two reigning families, the art of coining may have been introduced into Macedonia very soon after its adoption in Argos.

The following are the successors of Caranus:—Cænus, died 779 B.C.; Thurimus, 767 B.C.; Perdiccas I.; 729 B.C. Argeus, 697 B.C.; Aeropus, 602 B.C.; Alcetas, 576 B.C.; Amyntas I., 547 B.C. Some unrecorded princes appear to have filled the gap which then occurs till the accession of Alexander I., about 500 B.C. Some of the early Macedonian coins may belong to reigns as early as Aeropus, and others may have been issued by each of his successors; but as Macedonian coins of this early period only bear the name of the place where they were coined, and not the name of a prince, they cannot be considered regal coins in the general acceptance of the term, but rank, if they exist, as autonomous coins.

Alexander I. reigned from about the year 500 to about 460 B.C., and his are the earliest known coins bearing the name of a prince. The celebrated tetradrachm, or piece of four drachms, of this prince, engraved below, has been previously described in Plate IV.

Alexander I. was the first Macedonian prince admitted, on proving his Grecian descent, as a competitor at the Olympic Games; and it may possibly be in allusion to this circumstance that the youthful figure, bearing two spears and leading a horse, was placed upon his coins, as the biga or two-horse chariot is said to have been placed on those of Philip II. at a later period. Alexander found himself compelled to submit to the Persians on the invasion of Xerxes, and joined their army; but he remained secretly attached to the Greek cause, giving information to the Athenians of the

* See chap. iii.

disposition of the Persian general previous to the battle of Plataea.



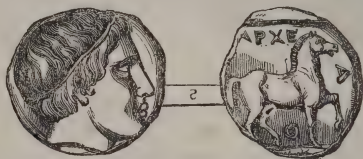
Perdiccas II. (between 460 and 454 B.C.) next ascended the Macedonian throne, and reigned till the year 413 B.C. There are well authenticated coins of this prince, which bear evident signs of national progress in the art of coining the public money. The obverse has a horse galloping, which type appears to have become a national one for some time after Alexander I. The art is still archaic in character, but



spirited and in high relief. The reverse has the square punch mark, in which is the helmet, with the letters ΠΕΡΔΙΚΑΙΚ (PERDIK). The interval between 450 and 400 B.C., is one in which Greek art made enormous strides, and during the latter portion of that period some of the finest Grecian works were produced, though the Macedonian coinage did not then attain to great excellence.

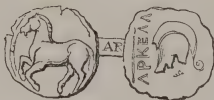
Archelaus I. (413 to 399 B.C.)—This prince appears to have been an illegitimate son of Perdiccas, and to have succeeded to the throne by the murder of several more direct heirs. But he was a prince of considerable talent, and in his reign the Macedonian court became the resort of some of the most celebrated men of the age. His palace was adorned with paintings by the greatest artists, and the great tragedian, Euripides, was numbered among his guests. Socrates himself is said to have received an invitation from

Archelaus, but declined it on the plea that it would be degrading to receive favours which he could not return. Some of the coins of Archelaus have the same types as those of his ancestor, Alexander I., and for reverse the forepart of a goat, with the square punch mark. (See No. 11. Plate IV.) Others have a head, wearing a regal fillet or bandelet, which, if a portrait, is the earliest known; but this is, of course, very doubtful. The reverse of this



coin has a horse within the punch mark, and the letters APXEΛAO (ARKEΛAO). Between 420 and 399 B.C. is the period at which it appears most likely that the noble Syracusan medallions * were executed; but the Macedonian money does not yet exhibit anything like that perfection or finish—indeed, throughout all Greece, the art displayed on the coinage was inferior in finish to that of Sicily, and the square punch mark had not yet disappeared in Greece, though the art displayed in many coins still showing that work is very superior.

The small coin engraved below has also been attributed to this prince.



Aeropus (from 399 to 394 B.C.)—The events of this reign are not sufficiently important to be recorded here—but the coins are highly interesting, especially the copper, represented in the engraving, which may rank as the earliest coins of that metal that are as yet known. On the silver of this reign, a head, generally described as Hercules, appears, wearing the forepart of a lion's skin, as a kind of hood, a trophy of one of the well-known feats of that hero. This

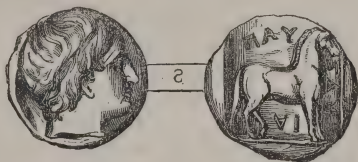
* See Chapter on Greek Art of the finest period.

kind of head-dress is well known from the abundance of noble coins of his descendant Alexander the Great, on which it appears. In both cases it was assumed, no doubt, on



account of the boasted descent of these princes from the Heraclidæ. On the coins of Æropus of this type, the reverse is a wolf and a club—other attributes of Hercules, with the letters AEPO (AERO). On some coins, attributed, on good authority, to Æropus, a head wearing the Macedonian hat or cap appears, while others have a head with a royal fillet or bandelet, looking much like a portrait—which, if so, would be, as observed before, with that of Archelaus, one of the earliest known.

Pausanias (from 394 to 393 B.C.).—Though this prince reigned but one year, there are yet coins in existence which bear his name. Some of them have a portrait-like head similar to those above alluded to, and others a horse. The reverse is generally a horse, with the name Pausania in full (ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ).



On a horse, on one of the coins of this reign, the brand-mark is very carefully executed, which would go to prove that such marks had greater significance then than now. Arrian informs us that the branded mark on the favorite horse of Alexander the Great was a bull's head, from which it received its well-known name, Bucephalus.

Amyntas II. (from 393 to 369 B. C.).—The coins of this reign begin to exhibit very superior art, and the punch-mark of the reverse which is very faint, in the next reign entirely disappears. The most remarkable coins of this reign are, those having a galloping horseman, wearing the

Macedonian hat, for principal type, and on the reverse a lion treading on a broken spear, with the letters AMYNT (AMYNT.)

These coins are finely designed and executed, and have much of the simple grandeur and energy of the Phidian school of art. Other coins of this prince have the Hercules-like head, wearing the lion's skin—which seems to have been a sort of family type. On the reverse of these coins is an eagle killing a serpent,* probably in allusion to the expulsion of Pausanias, and the restoration of the direct line of Caranus.

Alexander II. (from 369 to 367 B.C.).—It is uncertain whether we possess coins of this prince; but a coin, with the Hercules head, and having for reverse a horseman, has been assigned to him with some show of probability—as also,



though on slighter grounds, some rude coins—which are more probably of an earlier period.

Perdiccas III. (from 364 to 359 B.C.).—A coin has been assigned to this prince, which has for obverse the family type of the head of Hercules; and for reverse, a horse, beneath which is a club, and the name, as Perdicca—(ΠΕΡΔΙΚΚΑ). The total absence of the punch-mark proves that it could not belong to the period of Perdiccas II. He fell in battle against the Illyrians.

Philip II. succeeded his father Perdiccas III. in the year 359 B.C., and his accession marks a new era in the Macedonian monarchy, not only in its political influence, but also in that which more immediately concerns the present volume, the Macedonian coinage. Soon after the year 356 B.C. he attacked and took a settlement of the Thracians, called Crenides, from the springs (κρήναι) with which it abounded. Introducing new colonists, he named it Philippi, after himself, conferring this especial honour on the place as having put

* These are copper coins.

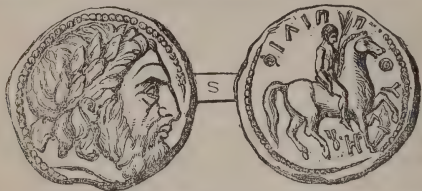
him in possession of the gold mines of the district, the working of which he so improved, that, according to Diodorus, he derived from them a revenue of 1000 talents, or 243,130*l*, a sum which most likely falls far short of their actual yield, judging from the vast quantity of gold coin struck from the metal which they furnished. Philip, after bringing nearly the whole of the Grecian states within the vortex of his policy, backed by his gold, was assassinated while walking in a procession at Aegae, the Macedonian capital, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter with Alexander of Epirus. He had ordered his guards to keep at a distance, stating that the good-will of all Grecians was a sufficient protection. But, as the procession moved forward, a youth, named Pausanias, darted from the crowd, and plunged a Celtic sword, with fatal aim, into his body, in revenge, it is said, for an insult he had received from one of the officers of Philip, for which that monarch had refused redress. This event occurred in the forty-seventh year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his reign. Philip, though ruling over a nation deemed barbarous by the Greeks, contrived, by a series of victories and negotiations, to assume the high position, in relation to Grecian affairs, which had been the aim of his whole career. He was appointed to the place of the subdued Phocians in the Amphictyonic council, and, conjointly with the Thebans and Thessalians, received the presidency of the Pythian Games. Such recognitions of his Hellenic character were of the highest importance to him in his great project for the invasion of Persia, as the head of a confederacy of the whole of the Grecian states, the means for which were in preparation at the time of his death. The carrying of the vast project into execution was reserved for still abler hands—those of his celebrated son Alexander the Great.

The profuse gold coinage issued by Philip consisted of staters and half-staters, which soon became known as "Philips," and long passed current in Greece, and in the East, under that name, and have been occasionally found in circulation in remoter provinces, even in modern times.

No. 1, Plate VI., is the gold stater of Philip II. It has a laureated head of Apollo on the obverse, and a biga or two-horse chariot, and the inscription $\Phi\Lambda\iota\mu\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma$ "of Philip," on the reverse; a device which Alexander ridiculed

his father for having adopted, to celebrate his victories at the Olympic Games.

These staters were copied in Sicily with no other variation than that of the inscription on the reverse, which became ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ (of the Syracusans), and sometimes the addition of the Sicilian *triquetra*. His silver coins, generally didrachms, are not so finely executed as the gold, but are yet bold and striking in general character. The obverse is



generally a well-executed head of Jupiter, and the reverse a horseman, wearing the Macedonian hat, and the inscription ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ (PHILIPPOU). The horse is generally stepping; but there are many variations, and several other types are found on the coinage of this reign.

Alexander III. (the Great), who began to reign in the year 336 B.C., found the Macedonian monarchy in a highly flourishing state. A great army existed, organised more perfectly than at any previous period, while an aristocracy had been formed by his father, Philip, which became a natural support of the throne as being educated at the court, under the immediate auspices of the monarch. It was among this chosen band, selected by Philip from the leading families of Macedonia, that Alexander chose the great men who became the mighty captains in his Asiatic campaigns, and who, after his death, founded vast kingdoms from the huge fragments of his empire. His father Philip was as remarkable for his protection of the fine arts and literature, as for his success in intrigue and war; and his admiration of Plato, and the appointment of Aristotle as the tutor of his son, bear sufficient testimony to the fact. The advantages derived by the future conqueror of Asia from such a preceptor cannot be over-estimated; and his capacity for holding the reins of an empire, as yet unparalleled in extent, was thus perfected for the cabinet, as completely as his warlike



TETRADRACHM
OF



ALEXANDER THE GREAT.



GOLD G STATI



OF PHILIP II
OF MACEDON.



TETRADRACHM
OF



PERSEUS,
LAST KING OF MACEDON.



G



TETRADRACHM
OF



MITHRIDATES
KING OF PONTUS.



COIN OF JUBA
KING OF NUMIDIA.



TETRADRACHM
OF



PRUSIAS,
KING OF BITHYNIA.

STATI OF



NICOMEDES II
KING OF BITHYNIA.

talents had been during his reported residence at Thebes, under the protection of the celebrated Epaminondas.

To follow Alexander in his successive subjection of Egypt and the vast countries of Asia, even beyond the frontier of India, would be superfluous in this place : most of the details of that vast career of conquests being known to every school-boy. The great story of the conquests of the Macedonian hero, not only formed the delight of the after ages of Greece, and then of Rome, but passed into the middle ages as the subject of one of the most popular romances of that period ; the story of the siege of Troy, and that of the conquests of Alexander, being among the most attractive of those tales of chivalry which formed the light reading of the age of the crusades. The "Romance of Alexander," as it is called, of course became, in the middle ages, an incongruous jumble of miracles, and magicians, and errant knights, and enchanted castles—yet all founded, with more or less accuracy, on the great Macedonian conquests.

Vast numbers of coins were issued by Alexander both in Europe and Asia ; and, in fact, their numbers were such that they are still abundant, and a few shillings will purchase a genuine coin of Alexander the Great. A great quantity of the existing coins of the whole of civilised Asia, were then, no doubt, recoined, with the types of the Grecian conqueror, and the Persian darics were, probably, converted by thousands into the staters of Alexander. This transformation, no doubt, accounts for the extreme rarity of gold darics, notwithstanding the evidence that they were once so plentiful. The coins of Alexander, struck in different places, generally bear some minor mark or type, by which the place of their mintage may be ascertained,—as a small bee, at the side of the principal type, on those struck at Ephesus, &c. Those executed in Europe may generally be distinguished from the Asiatic coins, by a more high and bold relief, similar to that exhibited on the money of his father, Philip—while those of Asia are generally more elaborately and highly finished, but the relief less strong.

The gold staters of Alexander the Great ; have types entirely different to those of the celebrated staters of his father ; the obverse bearing a head of Minerva, and the reverse a Victory holding a laurel wreath, and the inscription

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (ALEXANDROU), "of Alexander." Sometimes the Victory of the reverse is accompanied by smaller types (in the field*) indicating the place of mintage.

No. 1, Plate VI., is a tetradrachm or four-drachm piece of Alexander, of Asiatic coinage; the production, no doubt, of some of those Greek cities of Asia Minor, which, though long under the barbaric yoke of Persia, had lost none of their love of the fine arts, which they still practised with eminent success. The head on the obverse has been the subject of much dispute, as to whether it should be considered a head of Hercules, with the lion-skin head-dress,—or, whether it is not rather a portrait of Alexander, in the character of Hercules; the latter being the opinion of the celebrated Visconti, and the former, that of most English numismatists. However that may be, the head in some of the finest coins is one of the most magnificent productions of Grecian engraving, as may be seen by our copy, though modern art can never perfectly realise the antique sublimity of the finest Grecian works. The reverse of this coin is a sitting figure of the eagle-bearing Jupiter, with the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (ALEXANDROU), and two monograms that have not been deciphered. There are many varieties of these silver tetradrachms, and of other silver coins of Alexander, bearing the mint marks of several places, such as a lion and star for Miletus in Ionia, the letters ΚΟΛΟ for the city of Colophon, and ΜΥΡΡ for Myryna, &c. Some of his coins have the head covered with the fore portion of the skin of an elephant showing the tusks, instead of the lion skin, adopted, as some suppose, after the victories in India. The death of Alexander occurred at Babylon from a fever brought on by excesses of every description, in the year 323 B.C.

Philip III., Arrhidæus, half-brother of Alexander, was appointed regent of the vast empire, the son of Alexander, by the celebrated Roxana, being still an infant;—but, as is well known, the great captains who had aided in the conquests parcelled out the empire into independent kingdoms for themselves, which I shall have occasion to notice in speaking

* The field, in numismatic phrase, is the plain part of the coin not occupied by the principal figure or type.

of the coinages of the dynasties that thus arose. Though the power of Philip Arrhidæus was a mere shadow, yet it appears that he issued coins, with the same types as the coinage of Alexander; those having the Hercules head with the lion-skin, and the Jupiter reverse, but with the inscription ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ (PHILIPPOU), are attributed to him, though they were formerly assigned to Philip II.

Cassander (315 to 296 B.C.), a son of Antipater, who was left governor of Macedonia on the departure of Alexander on his Asiatic expedition, succeeded, after an interval of anarchy, in taking possession of the throne of Macedonia; while Seleucus eventually obtained greater part of Asia; Ptolemy, the states of Egypt; and Lysimachus, Thrace, &c. Cassander cleared his way to the Macedonian throne, first by the murder of Olympias, the mother of Alexander, and afterwards, of Roxana, and her infant son.

No coins of this unscrupulous usurper are known except a few coarse ones of copper, which have the head of Hercules, like the coins of Alexander, on the obverse, and the old type of the Macedonian horseman on the reverse, with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ (BASILEŌS CASSANDROU) "of the King Cassander." Haym, in his "Tessoro Britannico," figures one with the same inscription, but which bears on the obverse a helmet of singular form, and on the reverse the head of a lance.

Philip IV. (from 296 to 295 B.C.), the son of Cassander, succeeded his father; but his short reign is barren in a numismatic point of view. Alexander IV., sometimes called the Fifth, in consequence of the infant son of Roxana being called Alexander IV., was a son of Philip IV., and exercised ephemeral authority; but no coins of his are well authenticated.

Demetrius Polyorctes, "the city-taker," (294 to 287 B.C.), was a son of Antigonus, who, soon after the death of Alexander, conquered his rival, Eumenes, and assumed the title of King of Asia. After many adventures, Demetrius, by the assassination of Alexander, a son of Cassander, obtained possession of the Macedonian throne, from which he was eventually driven by Lysimachus. Coins, however, exist of his issue, though his reign was short; and the regal *portrait*, now for the first time openly placed on the Mace-

donian coinage, substantiates the contemporary accounts of the personal beauty and agreeable countenance of Demetrius. The obverse has a fine figure of Neptune, in allusion to his numerous naval victories, and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (BASILEŌS DEMETRIΟΥ) "of the King Demetrius." *

There is a fine coin struck by his father, Antigonus, on the occasion of the great naval victory obtained by Demetrius over Ptolemy, who had become king of Egypt. This beautiful coin is a tetradrachm, and has on the obverse a noble head of Jupiter; the custom of placing the head of the sovereign on the coinage not having become customary during the ascendancy of Antigonus. The reverse has a most beautifully executed figure of Apollo sitting on the prow of a vessel, with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ (BASILEŌS ANTIGONΟΥ), "of the King Antigonus."

Lysimachus (287 to 281 B.C.)—Lysimachus, aided by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, drove Demetrius out of Macedonia in the year 287 B.C. Soon afterwards, Lysimachus succeeded in driving out his ally, Pyrrhus, and thus obtained sole possession of Macedonia, in addition to which, he held all the other European territories of the Macedonian empire. Having possession of the rich gold and silver mines of Thrace, he issued a most abundant coinage in those metals, of beautiful execution. The types on nearly all the coinage of Lysimachus are, on the obverse, a head with a regal fillet and the horns of the Ammonian Jupiter. This head is stated by some to be the portrait of Alexander as the son of Ammon, a title which he had assumed. By others it is considered that the horns allude to the descent which Lysimachus himself claimed from the horned Bacchus, and that the head is a portrait of Lysimachus, notwithstanding its resemblance to the head on the coins of Alexander. This theory is supported by the existence of coins struck at Lysimachia, a city which he founded, and which bear a head with a royal fillet, but without the horns—which appears much like a simple portrait, and yet resembles the heads on the coins above described. The reverses of the coinage of Lysimachus

* Some assign the coins of this type to another Demetrius, one of the Seleucidan kings of Syria. †

have generally a sitting figure of Minerva, supporting a small figure of Victory in her right hand, with a star above ; and the inscription is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ (BASILEŌS LYSIMAKOU), "of the King Lysimachus."

In consequence of the murder of Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, a war broke out between that monarch and Seleucus, king of Syria and great part of Asia. These two veterans were the last survivors of the great generals of Alexander ; and when they met on the battle-field of Corus, in Phrygia, where Lysimachus lost his life, both were near eighty years of age, but had yet lost little of the ardour which had been so instrumental in effecting the conquests of Alexander. Seleucus, after the death of his rival, dreamed of adding the European dominions of Alexander to those of Asia, which he already possessed, and so uniting again under one head the great Macedonian empire : with, however, the exception of Egypt, securely held by the Ptolemies, and the extreme eastern possessions, which had been abandoned ; but on his way to Macedonia he was assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus. So perished the last of the great captains of Alexander,—men described by Trogus Pompeius as, not only forming the *élite* of Greece and Macedonia, but of the whole human race.

Ceraunus, brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt ; Antipater, a son of Cassander ; and Sosthenes, elected by the Macedonians, held the supreme power in Macedon successively from 281 to 278 B.C. Ceraunus was early slain in repelling an invasion of the Gauls under Belgius, and Sosthenes fell in an engagement with the Gaulish invaders under Brennus. There are no coins of any of these princes.

Antigonus Gonatus the son of Demetrius Polyorcetes, then succeeded to the throne of Macedonia, and reigned from 278 to 242 B. C., or, as some state, 239. He was driven from the throne, soon after his accession, by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who, on thus obtaining possession of Macedonia for the second time, committed frightful ravages and even violated the ancient tombs of the kings at Aegae. By the death of Pyrrhus in the following year, Antigonus regained possession of the throne, to be again driven from it by Alexander, the son of Pyrrhus, but only for a short time, for he at last obtained firm possession of the country, and

reigned, in all, forty-four years. The surname of *Gonatus*, is by some said to be derived from Gonnus or Gonni, a Thessalian town, where he was brought up; but Eckhel rather derives it from a peculiar piece of defensive armour which he wore, supposing the ancient Macedonian term to resemble the modern Romaic *γονατάς*. His coins are neither rare, nor remarkable; they generally bear a head, which may be either his portrait or a head of Bacchus, poorly executed, and on the reverse is a standing figure of Minerva holding a battle-axe, with the inscription — ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ (BASILEŌS ANTIGONOU), “of the King Antigonus.”

Demetrius II., son of Antigonus Gonatus (from 239 to 229, B.C.).—No coins worthy of notice mark this reign of ten years.

Antigonus *Doson* (the promise-breaker) succeeded his brother Demetrius II., and reigned till 221, leaving no remarkable coins to record the state of art in Macedonia at this period.

Philip V. (from 221 to 178, B.C.), succeeded his father Demetrius II., when he was only eight years of age.—This prince may rank as one of the greatest of any of the Macedonian dynasty. But he had to contend with the now fast-rising and far-spreading power and influence of Rome; and at last, after displaying the highest military abilities in a succession of conflicts of various character, was, towards the close of a long reign of forty-two years, so embroiled with the mighty republic, that a decisive war became inevitable, and the contest ended in the downfall of the Macedonian monarchy under his successor. There are remarkably fine tetradrachms and didrachms of this prince, the art displayed on which is better than any seen on Macedonian coins since the time of Alexander the Great. They have generally a fine portrait-head of the king on the obverse, and on the reverse the club of Hercules, with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ (BASILEŌS PHILIPPOU) surrounded by a wreath of oak leaves. Some of his coins have a remarkable figure of Minerva on the reverse, the execution of which is an imitation of the archaic style of art, adopted, perhaps, in close imitation of some highly venerated ancient statue of the goddess.

Perseus (from 178 to 168 B.C.).—Perseus had neither the ability nor the courage of his father. He found himself amply provided with a full treasury, and a well-disciplined army, to resist the expected attack of the Romans; but, although the undecided operations of two or three successive Roman generals gave him ample time to form alliances, and arrange effective means of resistance, he fell an easy prey to a new commander, Æmilius Paulus, who, on his arrival in Macedonia, immediately gave a more vigorous turn to Roman affairs.

It was on the 22nd of July, 168 B.C., that the final contest took place, near the city of Pydna. The celebrated Macedonian phalanx resisted for a time the attack of the Romans, but giving way at last, the slaughter became terrific, 20,000 men being slain on the field, while the cavalry fled in terror without striking a blow. Thus ended the celebrated Macedonian monarchy, and the last Macedonian monarch graced the triumphal procession of the Roman general on his return to Rome, ending his days as a prisoner at Alba, near that city, five years afterwards. The coins issued by Perseus are nearly as good as those of his father, which they resemble. The portrait head is well executed; and the reverses, which are also encircled by a wreath of oak, have the eagle holding a thunderbolt, the type of the Ptolemies of Egypt, possibly adopted in token of some alliance with one of the last of that dynasty. Other coins (copper), attributed to Perseus, have on the obverse a head, wearing a helmet, which has the head of an eagle as a crest, and a wing above the ear, in allusion to the fabulous hero, whose name he bore, while behind the neck lies a sacrificial knife; the reverse of this coin has the eagle like the one above described, but only the letters Β Α Π Ε. for inscription, the initials of Basileus and Perseus. A tetradrachm of Perseus is engraved in Plate VI.

CHAPTER VIII.

COINS OF GETAS, KING OF THE EDONEANS, AND OF THE KINGS OF OTHER PARTS OF MACEDONIA AND THRACE; OF THE KINGS OF EPIRUS AND SICILY; OF THE KINGS OF CARIA, OF THE KINGS OF CYPRUS, OF THE KINGS OF PÆONIA; SCILURUS, KING OF SARMATIA, TISIPHONUS, TYRANT OF PHEROS, AND DIONYSIUS TYRANT OF HERACLEA.

It appears convenient, in treating of the coinage of short dynasties, to form several series into groups having some chronological affinity. Those series which terminate before, or shortly after the time of Alexander the Great, I have placed next after the Macedonian series, arranging them as nearly in chronological order as convenient, but extreme observance of chronological succession would be impossible. My general plan, however, will be to leave such series as extend greatly beyond the Christian era to be described last, so as not to have to retrace our steps in order to notice a number of coins of a comparatively early period, after having once advanced deeply into the decadence of Greek art. The earliest regal coins after those of Macedonia are undoubtedly those of Getas, king of the Edoneans, and they will therefore range first in this miscellaneous chapter.

COINS OF GETAS, KING OF THE EDONEANS.

These are very remarkable monuments, and no doubt of equal antiquity with the celebrated coins of Alexander I. of Macedon, always cited in elementary works on ancient coins as the earliest to which a date can be assigned. These coins of Getas, though no historical record helps us to a date, the name being only known through the medium of the coins under description, can safely be assigned to the same date as those of Alexander I., as the mode of fabric is precisely the same, which, when the districts

are near to each other, is a tolerably certain test. Therefore they may be assigned to a period at least as early as 480 B.C. The coin of Alexander I. is the first example of the occurrence of an unabbreviated name of a prince upon a coin; but that of Getas is perhaps quite as remarkable in being the earliest example of the title of king (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ) being placed on the public money of a state. The two curious and highly interesting coins which are here referred to are both in the British Museum. They are of unusual size in the silver coinage of any period, being octodrachms, and are proofs of the wealth of this nation at the early period at which they must have been issued. The Edoneans appear to have possessed that portion of Thrace which contained the rich silver and gold mines of Mount Pangœum, Dates, Crenides, and Scaplæ-Hylæ; the subsequent possession of which enabled the sovereigns of Macedon to subdue the world, as foretold by the Delphic oracle when it directed Philip to fight with lances of silver, while we find Horace stating that the Macedonian conquerors forced the gates of towns, broke down ramparts and dispersed armies, as often with the ore of the Thessalian mines as with the Macedonian phalanx. Herodotus tells us that the silver mines on the borders of Thrace yielded a talent of silver per day.



Coin of Getas, king of the Edoneans.

These coins of the Edoneans exhibit inscriptions in different dialects, showing that they were in wide communication with different Greek states. One inscription is ΓΕΤΑ ΗΔΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, in the Doric dialect, and the genitive case; and the other is, ΓΕΤΑΣ ΗΔΩΝΕΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, in the Ionic dialect,

and the nominative case.* The relief of the type is bold and striking.

Coins of the Osseans, a people of a neighbouring district of Thrace, have also the same types as those of Alexander I. and Getas, and are of the same fabric with a similar punch mark and inscription on the reverse. The inscription is ΟΣΣΕΩΝ, an Æolian genitive for ΟΣΣΕΩΝ.

Rude coins of Amadocus, king of the Odryces, a Thracian tribe, with AMA—KO— and a head of Jupiter, and on the reverse a two-headed axe, are attributed to an Amadocus, a prince of this region. Alcibiades speaks of the advantage to be derived by the Athenians from the alliance of Amadocus and Seuthes. This was previous to the battle of Ægos-Potamos in 405 B.C. A second Amadocus, however, appears about thirty years later than the first, to whom some attribute these coins, but the square at the back would almost justify its attribution to the first, as may be seen by a comparison with contemporary kings of Macedon. The coin has a two-headed axe and a Caduceus on the obverse, with AMA—KO—, and on the reverse in a small square, is a branch of vine with ΔΗΜ, and Ο.

A coin with the head of Jupiter on the obverse, and a horseman on the reverse, a poor imitation of the coins of Macedonia, appears to belong rather to the second Amadocus. It has the inscription ΔΟΚΟΥ.—ΟΔΡΙΣΙΤΩΝ.

Teres, another king of the same country, who appears to have been dethroned after the reign of Amadocus II. by Philip of Macedon, has also left coins similar to those of Amadocus I. The type of the double axe belongs to Tenedos, and the bunch of grapes to Maronea, to which places the dominions of these kings did not extend, so that their occurrence on these coins is not accounted for.

We have coins of Seuthes, king of a portion of Thrace, probably Odressia, which may be those of Seuthes III., about 325 B.C. The former princes bearing this name do not appear to have coined money; at all events none has come down to us. Those attributed to Seuthes III. are

* The only doubt as to the antiquity of these coins arises probably from the use of the Ω in forming the genitive; notwithstanding which, the best numismatists give them the period I have named.

of bronze, with a head of Jupiter on the obverse, a horse-man on the reverse, and the inscription ΣΕΥΘΕΟΡ. A fourth Seuthes appears to have reigned about 200 B.C., and his coins have an eagle on the obverse, and on the reverse, within a laurel crown, ΣΕΥΘΕΡ.

COINS OF SCILURUS, KING OF EUROPEAN SARMATIA, IN THE FIRST CENTURY BEFORE CHRIST.

Scilurus, king of European Sarmatia, reigned in the first century before Christ. He was a contemporary of Mithridates II., Eupator, and defended his dominion against that prince. This prince appears to have possessed extensive dominions in Europe, which reached to the Chersonesus, where, in the ruins of the Greek town of Olbiopolis (*Olbia*), coins have been found bearing his name. The obverse has the head of Mercury wearing the pileus, and the reverse the caduceus, with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛ. ΣΚΙΛΟ, variously abbreviated. Others have been found on the same site bearing also the name of the city, with that of Scilurus and a queen, Pythodoris. The coins supposed to be of his queen Pythodoris, have a rude car or rather wagon drawn by two horses on the reverse, with ΠΥΘΟΔΟΡΙΔΟΣ.ΒΑ; and on the obverse a female head, veiled.

Scilurus is stated to have had eighty sons, and it is to him that the well-known apologue, inculcating unity, is applied, of the old man giving the bundle of sticks to break, which, when together, resisted all their efforts; but singly were easily broken. Head of Mercury on obverse; caduceus and inscription on reverse.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF PEONIA.

Patraus appears to have reigned about 356, and Audoleon 310 B.C. The last was driven from the kingdom by Lysimachus, and his treasure being betrayed to the conqueror by one of his officers, his means of resistance were paralysed, and the kingdom ended with his reign.

The coins of these Peonian princes belong to a good period of Grecian art, and their close neighbourhood to Macedonia enabled them to procure good artists to execute their money. Those of Patraus are remarkable; they have on the obverse a head of Apollo, which may be in allusion to the king's name, Apollo being known under the name of Patröus, and on the reverse a horseman riding over an enemy, in allusion to triumphs over the Macedonians; the inscription is (ΠΑΤΡΑΟΥ) of Patraus.

Those of Audoleon have a head (a front face) wearing a helmet on the obverse; and on the reverse, a horse stepping, very boldly executed, and ΑΥΔΩΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ.

A king, Ariston, is mentioned by historians, whom Lysimachus pretended to replace on the throne of Peonia, and others suppose that a prince named Eupolemus had also obtained some portion of territory, and struck money before the pretended restoration of Ariston, as coins are known of the character of their reigns, with the legend, ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ. The order of the dynasty is supposed by the more recent discoveries to stand thus:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Agis, father of Patraus, | 4. Eupolemus, |
| 2. Patraus, | 5. Ariston. |
| 3. Audoleon, | |

The coins of Lyceius or Lyceus, mentioned by Eckhel, after having been excluded from this series, have been reinstated in consequence of the discovery of fresh coins by Mr. Cousinery.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF ANOTHER PORTION OF THRACE.

Gavarus, a Gaulish king of part of Thrace. The Gauls appear to have invaded Macedonia and Thrace, in the third century B.C., and to have immediately coined money after the manner of the Greeks. There are coins of this Gallic leader having on the obverse a laureated head of Apollo, and on the reverse a figure of victory standing with an arm extended, and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΤΑΡΟΥ, and a monogram. Gavarus was the second Gaulish king of Thrace,

and with him, or during his life, the Gaulish domination in that country was overthrown.

After Gavarus the native princes appear to have regained their power, and we have coins attributed to Cotys II., Cotys III., Sadales II. or I., &c.

Cotys II. was a son of Seuthes IV., and was allied with Philip V., of Macedonia, against the Romans. Sadales I. was nominated by Cicero. Cotys III. was the son of this Sadales, who sent his son, Sadales II., to the aid of Pompey; but was eventually reconciled to Cæsar, and left his dominions to the Romans.

Rhiscuporius I. was a prince of a portion of Thrace, who allied himself to Brutus.

Cotys IV. was probably placed on the throne by Augustus.

Rhiscuporius II. was a son of Cotys IV., and was killed in battle.

Rhemetalces, tutor of the children of Cotys IV., became king after his death, and coins may be with certainty attributed to him, though most of the others are doubtful. Those of Rhemetalces I. are the first which exhibit the head of a Roman emperor on the reverse, indicating that the country was tributary to Rome. Several princes succeed, till Rhemetalces II., in the year A.D. 19, in the reign of Caligula, who received the whole of Thrace from that emperor; a fact commemorated on his coins. The whole of this series of coins is poor, and of small bronze, except the last, which is of large bronze and better workmanship. At first, they have the head of Jupiter or some deity on the obverse, and some symbol on the reverse, with the name of the prince either abbreviated or in full. Afterwards, the portrait of the prince supersedes that of the deity, the reverse being much the same. Those after Rhemetalces I. have the portrait of the Thracian prince on one side and that of the Roman emperor on the other.*

The Zeus, or Jupiter-Labradæus, was worshipped at Mylass, in the ancient capital of Caria, and appears to have been adopted by Hecatommus, and perhaps former

* Some of those of Rhemetalces have the curule chair sent by Augustus to the Cotys, whom he placed on the throne.

kings of Caria, whose coins are unknown, as that of a national monetary type.

Coins of Rhemetalces I., are the most interesting of the series, some having the portrait of the queen, and also of their son, afterwards Cotys V., celebrated in the elegies of Ovid, who was exiled to his dominions. The reverse has the head of Augustus, with the empress Livia, the capricorn in front being the horoscope of Augustus, and found also on Roman coins of his reign.*

After Rhemetalces I., the intestine troubles caused that part of Thrace to be declared a Roman province. For coins of a similar character of the Kings of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, see page 163.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF CARIA.

The early history of Caria is but little known, and we have only Carian coins of the family of Mausolus; none however, can be attributed to Mausolus I., whose widow, Artemisia was present, and distinguished herself greatly at the battle of Salamis (B.C. 480.) Eckhel assigns a coin, with the inscription ΕΚΑΤΟΜ, to Hecatomnus, who may have been a grandson of Mausolus I. It has a lion sleeping, on the obverse, and on the reverse the Carian type, Jupiter-Labradaeus.

Mausolus II. (B.C. 377 to 362), a son of Hecatomnus, was married to his sister Artemisia, granddaughter of the former, after the eastern custom. The devotion of this princess to her brother-husband, raised the superb tomb at Halicarnassus, the fabulous splendour of which has given its name, a Mausoleum, to all subsequent structures of a similar character.

So much taste and judgment were displayed in the magnificent buildings with which Mausolus embellished his new capital, Halicarnassus, that they are cited by Vitruvius as a model of their kind. On the dedication of the tomb erected by his widow, a prize was promised by that princess for the best panegyric on her husband, and the successful candidate was the orator Theopompus.

* There are fine large silver coins of Mostis, who appears to have been a king of part of Thrace, about the time of Lysimachus.

Eckhel describes coins, with the same type, of Pixodarus, another brother of Mausolus, and also of the Satrap Othontopates.

Mausolus II. reigned from 377 or 362 to 352 B.C.—His coins bear the head of Apollo, a finely-executed full-face, on the obverse, and on the reverse a figure of Jupiter-Labradæus, wearing the pallium, and holding in his right hand the bipenne, and his left the hasta pura.

Hidriæus (from 351 to 344 B.C.) was a brother of the preceding, and reigned after the death of his widow Artemisia. He cultivated the alliance of Artaxerxes, king of Persia. His coins are like the preceding, but have the inscription ΙΑΠΙΕΩΣ for the reverse. These coins are of remarkably fine execution, and show that the fine arts had attained the highest development in Asia Minor at that period. These coins of Caria are among the earliest regal coins of the fine period, preceding those of Alexander the Great by half a century.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF CYPRUS.

A series of coins, about cotemporary with the Carian series, is attributed to a succession of independent princes of Cyprus. Evagoras, pretending to be a descendant of Teucer, the ancient prince of Salamis, revolted from the government of Persia, in the year 391 B.C., and established an independent government in the city of Salamis, which he soon extended over nearly the whole island. He was assassinated in 374, and appears to have been succeeded by his son Nicocles. Pnytagoras, by some said to have been assassinated along with his father, next appears. Subsequently the second Evagoras, to whom coins are attributed; and then the name of Menelaus occurs in the list of these Cyprian kings; but any attempt to arrange the chronology of these princes with accuracy, appears to have failed.

Evagoras II. (about 350 B.C.).—The fine gold coins, attributed to Evagoras by Mr. Borrell, the first to call attention* to all the other names in this series, which were previously unknown, have a turreted head of Venus, with the imperfect

* Notice sur quelques Medailles Greques des Rois de Chypre. Paris, 1638.

inscription EYA, possibly the beginning of Evagoras, the reverses have sometimes a lion or an eagle.

The lion belongs to the worship of Venus Astarte (the head on the obverse), the eagle to that of Jupiter Salaminus.

Nicocles.—A fine large silver coin, attributed to Nicocles, has the head of Venus on the obverse, and on the reverse Apollo sitting, and holding a bow, with the inscription (in Greek), “Of Nicocles, King of the Paphians.”

The coins attributed to Pnytagoras have, on the obverse, a head of Diana; and on the reverse, that of Venus, and the letters ΠΝ, the two first of the name. This is a very beautiful coin.

Those attributed to Menelaus have the letters MEN behind the head of Venus.

No other tolerably certain attributions have been made, but the coins published by Mr. Borrel were all found in the island of Cyprus, and evidently belong to the same class.

The first Evagoras greatly cultivated the friendship of the Athenians; and, in consequence of assistance rendered them in the social war, a statue was erected to him at Athens by the side of that of the Athenian general Conon. The Persian usurpers of Salamis appear to have introduced Eastern customs and Eastern neglect of art in the island, while Evagoras did every thing to restore the ancient Hellenic influence. This circumstance accounts for the even execution of the coins, and it is possible the coin described above may be that of Evagoras I., the abbreviated name being, in most cases, a sign of considerable antiquity. If this should be the case, then the coin described by Eckhel, with diademed head, on the obverse, and on the reverse an eagle, with the inscription, at full length, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΑΓΟΡΟΥ ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ, might be assigned to Evagoras II., which would complete the series.

COINS OF THE TYRANTS OF HERACLEA, TIMOTHEUS AND DIONYSIUS.

Dionysius (about 338 to 306 B.C.).—Coins having on the obverse a head of Bacchus, and on the reverse Hercules erecting a trophy, with the inscription ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ (of

Dionysius), are attributed to this personage. Clearchus is the first recorded prince, or tyrant, of Heraclea. His tyranny commenced about 366 B.C.; after a reign of twelve years, he was killed, and was succeeded by Satyrus, a still greater tyrant, who had been tutor to his children. His children succeeded seven years later; they are the princes named at the head of this article. They reigned at first together, and afterwards Dionysius reigned alone, and managed to escape the destruction of the great invasion of Alexander, and to secure a peace with the princes who succeeded him.

Coins of Tisiphonus (359 to 353 B.C.), tyrant of Pheris, in Thessaly.—These coins have on the obverse the fore part of a lion; on the reverse, fore part of a horse, with ΤΙΣΙΦΟΝΟΣ (of Tisiphonus).

CHAPTER IX.

COINS OF REGAL DYNASTIES; NOT EXTENDING TO A LATER PERIOD THAN THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF GREECE AND THE GRECIANISED PROVINCES OF ASIA.

To describe these coins, I shall have to retrace my steps to a period anterior to that of Alexander the Great.

At the head of these shorter series, the coins of the kings of Epirus may perhaps be placed, not on account of their universal excellence, but of the celebrity of Pyrrhus, the knight-errant of ancient heroes, whose coins, struck in Sicily and Italy, are many of them remarkable for their beauty and unusual character.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF EPIRUS (THE MODERN ALBANIA).

The celebrity of Pyrrhus II., king of Epirus, has imparted to the Epirote coins a more than ordinary interest, though they are far, as I have said, from being an extensive

or fine series, with one or two striking exceptions. This race of princes claims descent from Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, and Deidamia, daughter of Lycomedes, King of Scyros. They also styled themselves Eacides, from the name of the ancestor of Achilles, Eacus. The first king of Epirus to whom history assigns a precise date is Admetes, who reigned over a portion of that country at the time of the invasion of Xerxes, 481 B.C. Amyntas and Alcetes succeeded him, and the sons of the latter, Orisbas and Neoptolemus, who appear to have shared the kingdom, were contemporaries of Philip II. of Macedon, who ascended the throne in the year 359 B.C. Olympias, the daughter of Neoptolemus, was married to Philip II., and became the mother of Alexander the Great.

Eckhel attributes a coin to Orisbas, which has on the obverse a beardless head of Hercules, wearing the lion skin; and on the reverse the club and a quiver, with the letters ΑΡΙΣ—, the commencement of the name.

Alexander I. succeeded his father, Neoptolemus, and, as brother of Olympias, was uncle to Alexander the Great. He died in the year 328 B.C., six years before his celebrated nephew. Eckhel assigns several coins to Alexander I. On the coins which have been attributed to this monarch, the most usual type is, on the obverse, a head of Hercules, and on the reverse, some have a thunderbolt between two stars; but then there are other varieties. The best known examples have the bow and club, with ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. ΤΟΥ. ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ. (Alexander [son] of Neoptolemus.) Some fine gold of Alexander have a head of Jupiter on the obverse, and the thunderbolt, with name and title, on the reverse.

Eacides, a son of Orisbas, succeeded Alexander in the year 326 B.C.; but no coins have been assigned to him by Eckhel, who, however, attributes coins to Phthia, his queen, the mother of the celebrated Pyrrhus. These coins have on the obverse the head of a queen, wearing a crown adorned with jewels, with the word ΦΘΙΑΣ. They have on the reverse a thunderbolt, and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΠΥΡΡΟΥ., which prove that they were struck by her son Pyrrhus, probably after her death.

Eacides was expelled while Pyrrhus was yet a child of twelve years of age, and that young prince did not obtain firm

possession of the throne till he was twenty-three years of age, about the year 295 B.C., and was slain at Argos in the year 272 B.C. His early conflicts with Cassander,—his expedition with Demetrius to assist Antigonus in Asia,—his conquest of Macedonia at two different epochs,—his wars in Italy when he came in contact with the fast rising power of the Romans,—his expedition to Sicily,—his return to Epirus after six years' absence,—his siege of Sparta, and the circumstances which led to his death, are events too well known to require recapitulation here. His coins are very numerous. Of those struck in Epirus, the most celebrated are the noble tetradrachms, with the head of the Dodonæan Jupiter on the obverse, and the sitting Minerva on the reverse, with the usual inscription.

The gold staters, with the head of Minerva on the obverse and a Victory carrying a trophy on the reverse, with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ, are as fine as the staters of Alexander the Great. Of the coins struck by him in Italy and Sicily, of which there is a great variety, the following is the most remarkable, it was struck in the former country, in the strong Magna-Græcia town of Locri Epizephyrii, where Pyrrhus resided for some time. It represents the head of the deified Achilles, the reputed ancestor of Pyrrhus, on one side, and the nereid Thetis, the mother of Achilles, on a sea-horse, on the reverse. Under the pretence of the head of Achilles, we have possibly the features of Pyrrhus. Thetis carries the arms forged by Vulcan for Achilles, in allusion to the succour brought by Pyrrhus to the Italian Greeks against the barbarians, as the rising Romans were termed by them.

Alexander II., the son of Pyrrhus, reigned from 272 to 242 B.C. A coin is attributed to him by Eckhel, having on the obverse a female head, clothed with an elephant skin. This may be in honour of his mother, Larrassa, a daughter of the Sicilian prince, Agathocles, who, after his conquests in Africa, placed a similar head-dress upon his own coins, as a personification of Africa. The reverse has a figure of Pallas, with ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

He was succeeded by his son, Ptolemy, who, though he reigned but a short time, has yet left coins. The one described is assigned to him by Eckhel. It has on the obverse the head of a female, with a crown of separate flowers, and

on the reverse an eagle; in the field is a star, and in some a crown, with ΠΤΟΑΕΜΑΙΟ.

Pyrrhus III., a son of Ptolemy, was assassinated, and succeeded by his sister Laodamia, or Deidamia, who was the last of the race of Pyrrhus; and soon afterwards (about 150 B.C.) the whole of Epirus was added to Macedonia, which (167 B.C.) had been declared a Roman province by Paulus Æmilius, who subdued the last Macedonian king, Perseus. A certain class of coins, even under monarchic forms of government, were struck without the name or portrait of the sovereign, or even that of a privileged town. Such coins generally bear the national name only; in the case of Epirus it stands ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ (in the Doric dialect for ΗΠΕΙΡΟΤΩΝ) [*of the people of Epirus*]. They have generally the head of Jupiter and Juno, the one profile over the other, on the obverse, and are very fine and richly-designed coins. To Epirus, the coins bearing the name of Sorias, and having a head of Ceres for principal type, and on reverse two ears of wheat, with the name and title of king are attributed; and the antique gold medallion of Mostis, mentioned among the Thracian pieces, is also by some attributed to Epirus.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF ILLYRIA.

As of a neighbouring country to Epirus, the regal coins of Illyria will, perhaps, find their most appropriate place here.

Monunius (about 170 B.C.) was contemporary with Perseus, last king of Macedon. He styles himself king of Dyrrachium; and his coins have the ancient type of that Illyrian city—the cow suckling a calf. The reverse represents the gardens of Alcinous, with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΟΝΟΥΝΙΟΥ ΔΤΡ (ραχηνων)—Money of Monunius, King of Dyrrachium.

Gentius, another king of Illyria, or part of Illyria, of about the same epoch (170 B.C.), has left coins bearing a head, with the Macedonian hat; and on the reverse, a ship, with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ ΓΕΝΤΙΟΥ.

Other coins, attributed to Illyria, bear the inscription ΒΑΛΛΑΙΟΥ; but the epoch of the reign of Balleus is uncertain.

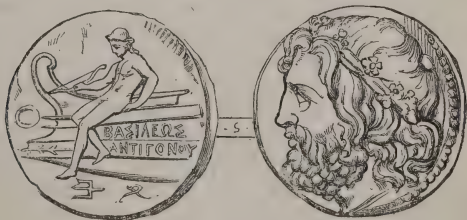
COINS OF LYSIMACHUS, KING OF THRACE AND MACEDONIA.

Lysimachus, who obtained possession of great part of Thrace and Macedonia after the death of Alexander, has left a great number of both gold and silver coins of the finest workmanship. The gold are remarkably fine and abundant, some being evidently quadruple staters.

Lysimachus appeared to have a greater probability of founding a dynasty than either Seleucus or Ptolemy, having twelve sons, and possessing, at the same time, the rich silver and gold mines which had been the means of founding the Macedonian empire of Philip and Alexander; but the intrigues of his wife Arsinoë in favour of her own children, and against those of a former marriage, eventually brought about the conflict with Seleucus Nicanor, in which fortune turned against Lysimachus at the battle of Ipsus, in Phrygia, where this veteran of the armies of Alexander fell fighting, at near eighty years of age, and several of his sons fell with him, while the children of Arsinoë were murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus, his brother-in-law, to clear his own way to the throne of Macedonia. His coins are more particularly described in the Macedonian series.

COINS OF ANTIGONUS, STYLING HIMSELF KING OF ASIA.

Antigonus, another of Alexander's generals, for some time styling himself king of Asia, has left many coins; among others, one of remarkable beauty, a coin struck in honour



of a naval victory obtained by his son Demetrius over Ptolemy Soter. The head of Jupiter on the obverse is one of

the finest monuments of numismatic art of any period; and the figure of Apollo sitting on the prow of a vessel, which forms the type of the reverse, is, perhaps, equally fine in another style—that of elegance, rather than grandeur. The inscription is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF BITHYNIA.

This is a remarkably fine, though not extensive, series of coins; and I shall, therefore, enter into some further details respecting it than could be assigned in all cases.

Zissetes was the Persian governor of Bithynia at the time of the invasion of Alexander. The route of the conqueror left that province untouched, and Zissetes succeeded in establishing himself in independent power, which the intestine disputes of the great captains of Alexander (after his death) prevented them from crushing. Zissetes may, therefore, be considered the founder of the monarchy of Bithynia, though it does not appear that he assumed the title of king; but it is evident that the dates of the Bithynian era found on that series of coins commences during his life.

He was succeeded by his son Nicomedes, who had to dispute the succession with his three younger brothers.

Nicomedes I. (from 278 to 250 B.C.).—This prince placed his portrait on the coins which he issued, which is the first of this series with which we are acquainted; for, if his father struck money, it was perhaps after the style in every respect of that of Alexander the Great, as was at first that of Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus. Nicomedes also assumed the title of king; and his power appears to have been so far consolidated, that, after the example of many princes of that epoch, he founded a great city, and called it after his own name, Nicomedia, as Philip had done by Philippi, Alexander the Great by Alexandria, and Lysimachus by Lysimachia, &c. The site of Nicomedia was so well chosen that it soon became a populous and wealthy city, and for six hundred years was one of the most flourishing in Asia, and under Diocletian was the residence of the Cæsars.

The unique coin of the Cabinet of Vienna, is attributed to Nicomedes I., rather than to the other princes of

his name, because the metal is thicker, the coin without date (common on succeeding ones), and the name unaccompanied by any pompous surname, as on the money of his successors. The inscription is simply ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΟΥ; the reverse is thought by some to be an Amazon, by others the Thracian Diana, worshipped under the name of Berosis.

Prusias I. (from about 228 to 183 B.C.).—Zelus, eldest son of Nicomedes I., having to contest the crown with his brothers, passed a reign of twenty-one years in such continued turmoil of hostility, terminating eventually in a violent death, that it is thought he had no time to issue a coinage, no single coin of his reign having reached us. Prusias, his son, succeeded him at the early age of thirteen, and married a sister of Philip V., of Macedon. He is, however, best known as having defied the Romans, by receiving Hannibal at his court. The coin engraved in Plate VI. is attributed to him, and is one of the finest in the whole Bithynian series. The Jupiter on the reverse, common to this series of coins, is supposed to allude to the sacred games Soteriæ, solemnised in Nicomedia in honour of Jupiter the Saviour.

The inscription is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΡΥΣΙΟΥ (of the King Prusias).

Prusias II. (from about 183 to 149 B.C.) was one of the most contemptible princes mentioned in ancient history. He is supposed to have poisoned Hannibal, who had sought a refuge at the court of his father, in order to propitiate the Romans, and also to have aided them in consummating the destruction of his cousin and brother-in-law Perseus, of Macedon. But these were the least of his vices; and he died at last by the hand of his own son, Nicomedes II. His coins, however, exhibit the same excellence as those of his father, which they much resemble. On a fine series of large and small copper coins, however, the portrait-head of the prince is often replaced by those of Mercury, Apollo, &c.; and the reverses are different, but the name and title renders their attribution pretty certain.

Nicomedes II. (from 149 to 191 B.C.).—This prince bore the title, or surname, Epiphanes. His coins are remarkably fine, and in the style of the specimen engraved of Prusias. Those attributed to his successors, Nicomedes III. and IV., bear the same portrait as those of Nicomedes II.; but the

dates upon them render it impossible that they should all belong to the same personage; and there are other examples of Greek princes preserving the image of their predecessor. The dates on the coins of Nicomedes II., are 160 of the Bithynian era; and on those of Nicomedes III., 205; and those of Nicomedes IV., 223; the only means by which the coins of the respective sovereigns can be distinguished.

The last Nicomedes bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans.

COINS OF THE QUEENS OF THE SEAPORT CITY OF PRUSIAS.

Prusias was founded by Prusias I., of Bithynia, upon the site of the ancient towns of Cius and Myrtea. The female sovereigns, to whom coins are attributed, are supposed to be of the family of Socrates, brother of Nicomedes III., who had revolted against that prince. The names found on these coins are the Queen Musa Orsobaris, and Queen Oradaltis, daughter of the King Lycomedes. On the reverses, ΠΡΟΣΙΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΤΤΑΡΟΣ, "Money of the people of Prusias on the sea."

COINS OF THE KINGS OF PERGAMUS.

Phileteres, a eunuch who governed Pergamus for Lysimachus, revolted, and, obtaining possession of the vast treasure of that powerful and wealthy prince, the principal depôt of which was at Pergamus, succeeded in establishing an independent government, which, however, but for the rupture of Lysimachus with Seleucus, which almost immediately ensued, and in which the former perished, the small monarchy of Pergamus would most likely have been crushed in embryo.

The name of Phileteres, like that of some other founders of dynasties,* was borne by all his successors, and, as in the latter part of the Bithynian dynasty, the monetary portrait also continued unchanged by his successors. The coins of Phileteres I., however, are most probably those without the title of king.

Eumenes I., Attalus I., Eumenes II., and Attalus II.,

* See Arsacidæ, &c.

occupy the rest of the dynasty; but as the obverses and reverses of the coins which numismatic ingenuity has attributed to each, present but slight differences, no further illustration is necessary, though some of them are of remarkably fine execution.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF CAPPADOCIA.

The governors of Cappadocia, under the Persian sovereigns, appear to have exercised the office by hereditary right, and claimed to be descended from Cyrus, and, like him, of the royal race of the Achæmenides.

Ariarathes II., refusing to submit to the Macedonians, was crucified by Perdiccas,—the punishment in Persia of disobedient satraps.

Ariarathes III. reconquered the country from the Macedonians. Ariamnes, his son, succeeded him, who founded a dynasty that reigned for 160 years.

Ariarathes V., who died in 166 B.C., is the first of this race to whom any coins have been attributed. The coin in question is believed to be unique, and is attributed by the latest writers on the subject to him, instead of Ariarathes IV., as formerly. Except this coin, and those of Eusebius, the coins of this dynasty are silver didrachms and drachms. The coins with the surname, Philopator, are attributed to Ariarathes VI. Those with Epiphanes, to Ariarathes VII. Those with Philometor, to Ariarathes VIII.

Those of Ariobarzanes I. are distinguished by the name, and the surname, Philoromæus, (lover of the Romans.)

Ariobarzanes II. bore the surname of Philopator, and Ariobarzanes III. that of Eusebius, in addition to that of Philoromæus, by which his coins are distinguished from those of Ariobarzanes I.

Ariarathes X., dethroned by Mark Anthony, bears the name of Philadelphus, which he assumed after having refused to join a revolt against his brother, Ariobarzanes III.

Archelaus, who usurped the throne in the year 36 before the Christian era, has left coins with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΚΕΛΑΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΤΙΣΤΟΥ, “of the King Archelaus, cherishing (or loving) the country he has

founded." His coin bears the date K,* indicating the 20th year of his reign, corresponding to 16 B.C. His title Ktistos is supposed to have been assumed in consequence of his having founded the city of Sebastia, where he resided. He called it Augusta; in Greek, Σεβαστὸς, after the Roman emperor. At his death, the kingdom of Cappadocia, as an independent state, ceased to exist.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF ARMENIA.

(See Plate VI.)

At the time of the Macedonian conquest, Phrataphernes, a Persian satrap, succeeded in establishing the independence of Armenia. His family continued to reign in a sort of tributary dependence to the Seleucidæan sovereigns of Syria; but Antiochus III. replaced the native sovereigns by two of his own generals, Zadriades and Artaxius. These satraps became independent of their master, and several other petty sovereigns are mentioned in Armenia, the mountainous character of which was favourable to small territorial divisions.

Arsames is the first prince of this district to whom coins are attributed. He appears to have been cotemporary with the first Seleucidæ. His coins have a rudely-executed figure on horseback on one side, and a portrait on the other, sometimes with the Armenian tiara, but without the lappets over the ears, and sometimes with a radiated crown.

The next in succession are classed as below:—

NAMES.	INSCRIPTIONS.
SAMES	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΑΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, (of the King Sames, honouring the gods, the just.)
XERXES	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΞΕΡΞΟΥ.
ABDISSAR	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΒΔΙΣΣΑΡΟΥ.
MITHRIDATES (Cal- linicus), King of a por- tion of Armenia . . .	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟ ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚ
ANTIOCHUS and MI- THRIDATES, reign- ing together	Obverse . . ANTIOXΟΥ.† Reverse . . ΜΕΓ. ΜΙΘΡΑ. ΦΙΛ. .

* The K is possibly the initial of Cæsarea, where the coin may have been struck.

† These coins bear the name of Antiochus alone, on which the portrait wears a tiara precisely similar to that of Tigranes.

Next comes the celebrated Tigranes. Whether a son of any of the preceding does not appear. He was at all events a son of some prince holding power in a portion of Armenia, and was placed when young with Mithridates II., king of Parthia, to receive his education, the Arsacidæ considering themselves at that period suzerains of the princes of Armenia.

Tigranes seized the opportunity of a period of revolutionary troubles in Parthia to return to Armenia, and subjugated many portions of the country, especially the district known as Little Armenia; and the last princes of the Seleucidan line being now engaged in intestine quarrels, he was also enabled to subdue the whole of that monarchy, and he reigned over the dominions so acquired for many years, until vanquished by Pompey; after which he was compelled to restrain his ambition within the limits of Armenia. On coins struck by him in Syria, soon after his conquest of that country, the obverse has his portrait wearing the peculiar Armenian crown or tiara, afterwards placed by Marc Antony on some of his coins, struck in honour of victories in Armenia; and on the reverse is the celebrated group representing a personification of the city of Antioch sitting on a rock, from which issues the river Örontes,—a device which appears on many Antiochian coins, and which is said to have been copied originally from a celebrated work of Eutychieles, a pupil of Lysippus, which was preserved with great care at Antioch. The inscription is simply ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. (See page 134.)

Artarasdes, the son of Antiochus, was subdued by Marc Antony; and it was on this occasion that he struck coins bearing the Armenian tiara as a trophy. Marc Antony presented Artarasdes and all his family to Cleopatra, in golden fetters; and the Egyptian queen is said to have exercised her power, almost for the last time, in ordering the decapitation of Artarasdes immediately after the fatal termination of the battle of Actium.

Though one or two coins have been assigned by high authorities to the kings of Sparta; none exist which can, with

certainly, be so attributed. The best known is that given to one of the last kings, Cleomenes,—but his name is not on the coin,—though the letters ΛΑ (L A) appear to render it pretty certain that it belongs to Lacedæmonia; but it is now thought rather to have been struck by Antigonus Doson, after his taking of Sparta, for the Spartans were always too jealous of their popular constitutions to allow of the portraits of native kings on the public money.

The coin mentioned by Eckhel, with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΕΟΣ, attributed to the Spartan king, Areus, is equally doubtful.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF SICILY.

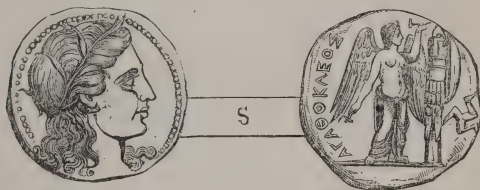
The noble series of Syracusan coins, and those bearing the names of other Sicilian cities, were frequently issued by the republican chiefs or despots of the respective states. The great archaic medallions of Syracuse, for instance, are by some attributed to Gelo I., and supposed to have been struck from tribute presented to his queen Demarete by the Carthaginians; while the later Sicilian medallions, the extreme beauty of which (see Plate V.), has caused them to be so much sought by collectors, appear to have been issued during the reign of Dionysius I.; but as they only bear the name of the city, they are classed with *autonomous* coins. In describing coins of princes I am dwelling more at length on such as bear the portraits of the princes, a custom not generally adopted till after the time of Alexander the Great; thus, I must therefore pass rapidly over the fine coins of Agathocles and Hicetas,* bearing generally, on the obverse, the heads of Apollo, Diana Soteira, Proserpine, and other deities. Those of Agathocles, have generally, on the reverse, a Victory placing arms on a trophy; or a thunderbolt, and the inscription ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΩΣ, with or without the title of king (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ).†

Agathocles was one of the most extraordinary men of

* There are also coins of Pheution, cotemporary of Hicetas.

† The fine female head, in the head-dress formed of an elephant's skin, forming the obverse of a coin supposed to be the impersonation of Africa, was struck after the successful invasion of Carthage by Agathocles.

antiquity; who from the rank of a potter raised himself to supreme power in Sicily; and so great was his influence and wealth at the time, that he married his daughter to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and his alliance was sought by many of the most powerful princes of his time! The coins of Agathocles seldom bear a portrait, and this is the sole reason for passing so rapidly over the various types left by him on his finely executed coinage. The engraving below is a good specimen.



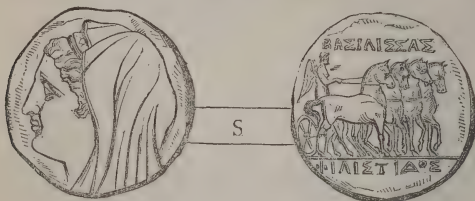
The coins of Hicetas have the inscription *IKETA* on the reverse, with a biga for type. The advent of Hiero II., to the chief power in Syracuse, marks a new era in the Sicilian coinage, when the *portrait* of the sovereign was placed upon the public money, after the manner of the kings of Syria and Egypt.

Hiero II. reigned from 270 to 216 B.C.; his first coins appears to have been similar to those of Agathocles and Hicetas, bearing national types, but at a later period of his long reign, he struck money as above stated, bearing his portrait, and is supposed to have struck other pieces in memory of Gelo I.* Some of his coins have been attributed to Hiero I., from a difference in the style of the faces; but in his long reign the late portraits of himself may be very different to the early ones; and all those bearing the name of Hiero are doubtless his own. There are copper pieces of Hiero of the same size, and nearly as fine as the silver.

* Coins with the name of Gelo and Hiero were formerly attributed to Gelo I. and Hiero I.; but their fabric evidently belongs to the later period. I have not alluded to the early period of Sicilian history to which the reigns of these princes belong, because no well authenticated *regal* coins bearing a prince's name exist prior to the time of Agathocles, and none with a portrait before Hiero II.

Gelo II. This prince is supposed to have been associated in the government during the life of his father, and coins bearing the name of Gelo, which were formerly attributed to Gelo I., are doubtless those of this prince. He died before his father.

Philistis was the wife of Hiero II., and the coins struck in that reign, bearing her portrait, are remarkably fine.



Hieronymus reigned from 216 to 215 B.C., when the island became subject to the Romans; but several coins



exist of his reign, in the same style as those of Hiero^{II.}, and equally fine in execution, both in gold, silver, and copper.

CHAPTER X.

(See Plate VI.)

COINS OF THE GREEK KINGS OF EGYPT, THE PTOLEMIES OR LAGIDÆ.

PTOLEMAIUS, afterwards surnamed Soter (saviour or preserver), the founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty of Egypt, was born in the year 367 B.C.,* and was the son of Lagus, a Macedonian of obscure birth. From his paternal name the dynasty he founded, is sometimes, especially in numismatics, called the Lagidæ. His mother was Arsinoë, who had been a concubine of the king Philip II., and by many historians, Ptolemy is considered to have been the son of that prince—which, in fact, is the only satisfactory manner of accounting for the early favour of Ptolemy at the Macedonian court. He became the youthful companion of Alexander, and afterwards a sharer in his favours and victories, when the Alexandrian conquests were carried across the whole depth of Asia, even into Northern India; and in the year 330 B.C., he obtained the high post of Somatophylax (σωματοφύλαξ). It was Ptolemy who apprehended the traitor Bessus; and we find him brilliantly engaged in the reduction of Sogdiana, and in the attack on the fortress of Chorienes. In the Indian campaign his services were still more remarkable; on one occasion slaying in single combat the chief of an Indian principality. On the occasion of the conspiracy of the pages, it was Ptolemy who, by discovering their treasonable designs, probably saved the life of Alexander, and according to a curious anecdote, preserved by several historians, Alexander cancelled this obligation by, in his turn, saving the life of his general; marvellously curing a wound, caused by a poisoned arrow, by causing it to be treated in a peculiar manner revealed to him in a dream.

* This date is disputed; as, if Lucian's statement that he died in the 84th year of his age, be correct, it would make his reputed father, Philip, only 16 at the time of his birth.

During the famous march through Gedrosea, Ptolemy commanded one of the three principal divisions of the army; and at Susa he was honoured with a crown of gold, obtaining, at the same time, Artacoma, the sister of Barsine, in marriage. He is mentioned also as accompanying Alexander in his last winter campaign against the Cossœans.

On the death of Alexander in the midst of his conquests his half-brother Philip was nominated king, but this weak prince was never more than the shadow of a power; and the infant son of Alexander, by the beautiful Roxana, being eventually put to death by Cassander, no direct successor to the vast Macedonian conquests remained; so that the seizure of temporary power at the time of the great conqueror's death by his most influential generals, became, in some instances, the foundation of powerful monarchies: such was the consequence of the seizure of Egypt by Ptolemy. He however did not assume the title of king until many years afterwards, and then only in rivalry of Antigonos, who assumed the magnificent title of king of Asia.

One of the first acts of Ptolemy was to put to death Cleomenes, the former governor, who had amassed immense wealth by extortion and plunder. This act not only gave Ptolemy the command of vast treasure, but gained him immense popularity with the Egyptians, delighted to witness the fall of a relentless oppressor. The next step of the prudent Ptolemy was to persuade Archidæus, who had the direction of the funeral of Alexander, to conduct it to Alexandria, the great city founded by the conqueror, and the capital of the dominions of Ptolemy, instead of to Ægas (or Ægæ) in Macedonia, the ancient burial place of the kings of that realm; thus making himself, as it were, the guardian of the august remains. This event was commemorated on coins struck by Ptolemy. Previously to this time his gold coinage had been like that of Alexandria; he had not ventured to depart from the old Alexander types, the head of Minerva, and the Victory; but he now issued a gold coinage, which bears on one side his own portrait, and on the other, the statue of the conqueror borne along in a triumphal car drawn by elephants.

Eckhel and Mionnet considered this figure as that of Jupiter, as it holds a thunderbolt. But M. Longperrier has

rectified this error by showing on high authority that at the temple of Diana at Ephesus, Alexander was painted holding a thunderbolt. While a passage in Callixines of Rhodes, preserved by Athenæus, states, that at these memorable obsequies the procession was closed by a magnificent car drawn by elephants, in which was placed a golden statue of Alexander.

The previous coins of Ptolemy, though bearing the types of the Alexandrian coinage, had the name of Ptolemy, but without title; one struck after the conquest of Cyrene, has the inscription ΚΥΡΑΝΙΩ(Ν) ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ(ΟΥ) the letters in parenthesis being off the coin.

Ptolemy was three times married, first to the Persian princess Artacoma; next, to the daughter of Antipater, who bore him three sons, the eldest of whom was Ptolemy Ceraunus: his third, and last wife, was Berenice, who had come to Egypt in attendance on Eutydia, the daughter of Antipater. By Berenice, Ptolemy had a son, known as Ptolemy Philadelphus. To this favoured son, the offspring of his most beloved wife, Ptolemy determined to secure the succession of the kingdom by associating him in the government during his own life.

In the year 285 B.C., accordingly, he announced to the Egyptians that he had ceased to reign, and that his son reigned in his stead; and this announcement was accompanied by festivities of such splendour as were certain to make the measure popular with the fickle and pleasure-loving people of Alexandria. The choice, however, proved itself one of judgment as well as affection, and the Egyptians had good reason to be grateful for his selection.

Previous to this period he had struck coins on which he had formally assumed the title of king, see Plate VI., and also the type of the eagle bearing a thunderbolt, which became a sort of heraldic badge of the Ptolemaic dynasty,—the head, as will be seen on the examination of the coin on Plate VI., is expressive of great mental powers and great determination, and also of that prudence, to which he owed the preservation of his kingdom, having on more than one occasion declined the risk of a great battle, and retired behind the Nile to await the onset of his adversaries, who, in this strong position, declined the attack.

His son Philadelphus, on the assumption of the regal power, struck coins in honour of his father and mother, which are remarkably well executed. Similar coins were also struck, as it would appear in their memory, as on these coins they are styled ΘΕΟΙ (Gods); the deification having most probably taken place after their deaths.

The coins of Ptolemy Soter may be divided into five classes: First, those he struck with the usual types of Alexander the Great, but with the addition of his own name; secondly, those on which he caused his portrait to be placed, but without the title of king; thirdly, those on which the title of king (*Basileus*) is assumed; and fourthly, those bearing his portrait with or without that of Berenice, which were struck by his son. To these may be added, those with the title *Soter*, which, as being greater than that of king, according to Visconti, is never accompanied by the lesser title of *Basileus*; those struck at Cyrene, those commemorative of the funeral of Alexander; those bearing only the portrait of Berenice, with a cornucopia, for reverse, which, with other varieties, form the fifth class.

The foundation of the celebrated library and museum of Alexandria, was one among the great works of the founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty, which will ever secure to his name an honourable place in history, notwithstanding some (perhaps necessary) acts of cruelty, which form indelible blots on his character.

Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus). The reign of this prince is generally dated from the death of his father, 285 B.C., though he had virtually governed the kingdom for four years previously. I have dwelt at some length on the establishment of the Græco-Egyptian dynasty by Ptolemy Soter; but of the reigns of his successors my space will forbid me to give much more than their dates, accompanied by the briefest description of one or two of their most characteristic coins. Ptolemy Philadelphus having married his sister Arsinoë, the widow of Lysimachus, in pursuance of an oriental custom, introduced through the Asiatic conquests of Alexander, became devotedly attached to her, and founded and restored cities to which he gave her name, and at her death dedicated a temple to her, planned by the architect Dinocrates; the roof of this building was to be of loadstone, in the vault of

which her statue was to remain suspended in the air, without other support; but the architect dying, the carrying out of the scheme was found impracticable. Philadelphus greatly increased the library founded by his father, and the establishment of the celebrated museum was further encouraged by the invitation of such men as Euclid, Lycophron, Callimachus, Theocritus, Aratus, Timocharis, &c., whose talents he was enabled to appreciate, by means of the learned education he had himself received from Zenodatus of Ephesus.

The power of Egypt greatly increased under the second Ptolemy; he is said to have maintained a standing army of two hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse; a fleet of fifteen hundred ships, some of which were of enormous size, and to have left the sum of seven hundred and forty thousand talents in his treasures.

His coins are only distinguished from those of his father by the more youthful appearance of the head, the inscription being the same; the surname Philadelphus never appearing on the ordinary money, which is simply inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, except on the reverse of the coins, struck in memory of his father and mother, which bore his portrait, and that of his sister-wife, Arsinoë, and on those bearing the portrait of Arsinoë alone, which bore the inscription ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ (Brother-lover). Some have supposed his surname Philadelphus, brother-lover, to have been bestowed by the satirical Alexandrians, in consequence of his unnatural treatment of his brother, whom he caused to be put to death, to strengthen his own title to the throne.

There are very fine coins of this reign, both of gold and silver, bearing the portrait of Arsinoë only, especially the silver decadrachms, of which the British Museum possesses a fine series of specimens. The reverse of these coins is generally the cornucopia, which is the generally adopted type for the reverse of coins of the queens of this dynasty.*

Ptolemy III., surnamed *Euergete* (the Benefactor), reigned from 246 to 221 B. C. He invaded Syria to avenge the ill-

* It was during this reign that the translation of Holy Scriptures into Greek, generally known as the Septuagint, is supposed to have been made by direction of the king, for the use of the Jews settled in Alexandria; which it is said received its name from the number of learned men employed.

treatment of his sister, and, on his return, brought back above two thousand five hundred sacred statues, which had been carried into Asia by the conqueror, Cambyses. It is for this act that he is supposed to have received from the Egyptians the title of "Benefactor." His reign was prosperous, and his death regretted. He was the last of the great Ptolemies, the greatness of his race being confined to the narrow limits of its three first representatives. His coins, like those of his father and grandfather, have a portrait head, with the regal fillet or bandlet; and the eagle holding a thunderbolt, for the reverse. The inscription is simply ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, and his coins are therefore only to be distinguished from those of his two predecessors by the physiognomy, which is sufficiently distinct. The coins bearing the portrait of his queen Berenice, are also numerous, and resemble those of Arsinoë of the preceding reign, excepting in the features of the portrait, and the inscription, ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΕΥΣΣΗΣ.

Ptolemy IV., surnamed "Philopater" (father-lover), as some assert, ironically, from his having been suspected of murdering his father, Euergete. He began to reign in the year 222 B. C.; and one of the first acts of his dark and cruel reign was the execution of his own mother, Berenice. It was this Ptolemy, who, it is related, was stopped by a miracle when endeavouring to force his way into the sanctuary of the temple of Jerusalem; in consequence of which he withdrew from the Jews of Alexandria the privileges they had hitherto enjoyed, but afterwards, in consequence (it is said) of another miracle, restored them to favour. The miracle may have been a large sum of money, which the excesses of the king would no doubt have rendered very acceptable.

Though the decline of the race of Ptolemies may be dated from this reign, the decadence of art was not yet remarkable. Philopater, in the midst of his debaucheries and crimes, still preserved a taste for literature and the fine arts; among other evidences of which he dedicated a temple to Homer, as a deity. He sought also to assert the naval power of Egypt by the construction of vast ships, one of which, we are told, was constructed with forty banks of oars. The coins, however, of Philopater do not exhibit the same grand style of art as those of his predecessors, and are easily dis-

tinguishable, as the inscriptions have frequently the surname instead of the title of king, as ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. There are coins, also, bearing the portrait of his queen, another Arsinoë, but of inferior workmanship to those of the wife of Philadelphus.

Ptolemy V., surnamed "Epiphanes," succeeded to the Egyptian throne at the early age of four years, in the year 205 B. C., and at his coronation, in 196 B. C., assumed the title of "the present and propitious god" (*Theos Epiphanes Eucharistos*). In this weak reign the waning power of Egypt became apparent; and it was only through the alliance with Rome—established by Euergete, and since faithfully observed—that the kingdom was preserved by the aid of that rapidly increasing power from the grasp of Antiochus the Great and the King of Macedon. Epiphanes died by poison in the twenty-fourth year of his reign and the twenty-ninth of his age. His coins only bear the inscription—ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; but the likeness to his mother Arsinoë, and the radiated crown, first assumed in this dynasty by Epiphanes, as a symbol usually adopted by princes taking that title, cause them to be easily distinguished. When the radiated crown is found on coins of this prince, the reverses have a cornucopia, similar to that on the coins of queens of this dynasty, previously described, but differing somewhat in being surmounted with rays like to those of the crown. The coins of this reign on which the crown of rays is omitted, have the usual reverse of the eagle holding the thunderbolt; but they are easily recognised by the likeness of the portrait to that wearing the crown, and both strongly resemble the portrait of his mother Arsinoë.

Ptolemy VI., surnamed "Philometor" (mother-lover), was the eldest son and successor of Ptolemy IV.; and being a child at the time of his father's death (181 B. C.), his mother, Cleopatra, a daughter of the king of Syria, became regent, and governed the country with great ability; the consequent gratitude, or supposed gratitude, of her son, being the cause of his then receiving his distinctive surname, Philometor. After the death of his mother, the incapacity of his ministers caused a ruinous war with Antiochus, king of Syria, who overran Egypt, and, but for the intervention of the Romans, would have added it to his own dominions.

Philometor, after this narrow escape of losing his kingdom, became more energetic, and, in the disputed succession to the Syrian throne, successfully assisted Demetrius, and became so popular in Syria, that he was proclaimed king himself at Antioch—a dangerous honour, which, with the moderation of character which is his chief characteristic, he declined. He displayed similar prudence and moderation in the disputes with his brother, aggravated by the interference of the Roman Republic; and, if he may not be considered one of the greatest, he may fairly rank as one of the best of the Ptolemies. He was killed by an accidental fall from his horse in Syria, after a reign of thirty-five years, in the year 146 B. C.

Many of his coins are easily distinguished by the inscription ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡ, which inscription is accompanied by various monograms, and a date of the Ptolemaic era. The obverse has his portrait, with the usual regal fillet or band, and the reverse the eagle and thunderbolt, with the above-named inscription. Other coins of this prince have the longer inscription—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ (of the king Ptolemy, God, Philometor).

Ptolemy VII., (Euergetes II.) the brother of Philometor, having put the son of the latter to death, married Cleopatra, the sister-wife of his predecessor (and, consequently, his own sister), to strengthen the title of his usurpation, and began to reign 146 B. C. He is known as Euergetes II. to distinguish him from Ptolemy III.; but the Alexandrians also bestowed upon him the surname of "Phiscon," (Φυσκων, big-bellied), from his unwieldy and bloated appearance. He afterwards repudiated his wife Cleopatra, to marry her daughter, who was at the same time his own niece; an act which greatly alienated the feelings of the Greek portion of his subjects. His cruelties caused him to be dethroned for a time, and his sister Cleopatra proclaimed queen in his stead; but he afterwards regained the throne, and, profiting by the lesson he had received, reigned for ten years with some moderation—in all, twenty-nine years from the death of his brother Philometor. He died in the year 117 B. C.

One of the most abominable acts of this tyrant was the murder of his own son, Memphitis, at the time that his repudiated wife was declared queen in his stead. This act was

committed in the island of Cyprus, where the youth had taken refuge, and from whence he sent the head and hands of the murdered boy to his mother at Alexandria, where they were presented to her by an emissary of the exiled despot on her birth-day. Such acts as this caused him to be further distinguished by an additional surname, that of "Cagourgetes" (the Evil), the fitness of which is but too evident. He was, however, a protector of literature; a characteristic which appears to have been inherent in the race of the Ptolemies; and in his jealousy of the increasing literary progress of other nations—especially Pergamos, whose kings were great protectors of letters—he interdicted the exportation of papyrus, which, as is recorded, led to the invention of parchment. He also wrote some memoirs on natural history, fragments of which have been preserved by Athenæus.

There are good coins of the usual Ptolemaic types of this reign; also of his widow, Cleopatra, who appears in a head-dress formed of the head portion of the skin of an elephant, including the tusks, similar to the lion-skin head-dress of Alexander the Great. The cause of her assumption of this costume is unknown.

Ptolemy VIII. received the surname "Soter," and also "Philometor," both of which titles he bears in inscriptions, but he is still better known by his popular surname, "Lathurus" (*Λαθουρος*), received, according to some, from a wart on his nose. He succeeded his father, Phiscon, in the year 117 B. C. He reigned, conjointly with his mother Cleopatra, for ten years, by whom he was compelled to repudiate his sister Cleopatra, and marry his younger sister, Selene; for the Eastern custom of the monarch espousing his own sister—no other being deemed his equal—was now become a family rite of the Ptolemies. His mother afterwards succeeded in expelling him from the throne, and procuring the election of his younger brother Alexander in his stead, who held the royal authority for eighteen years, during which Lathurus maintained possession of Cyprus. On the death of his mother, Cleopatra (assassinated by order of her son Alexander), Alexander himself was expelled, and Lathurus restored; after which he reigned without interruption for eight years: in all, including his reign of eighteen years in Cyprus, he reigned thirty-five years and a half, dying

in the year 81 B.C. It was during his restoration that Memphis revolted; and during its siege and final capture by Lathurus it was reduced to the ruined state in which it has ever since remained. He left a daughter, Berenice, who succeeded him on the throne, and two illegitimate sons. For some assistance afforded them, the Athenians erected statues to both Lathurus and his daughter Berenice, and the Romans applied to him without success for the aid of the Egyptian fleet in the war against Mithridates, his naval power, cultivated at Cyprus, being the greatest of the period. On his coins he appears with a radiated crown, (see Plate VI.) like that of his predecessor, Epiphanes, and also with a trident, the emblem of his naval supremacy, which renders the attribution of such coins comparatively certain, though the inscription on the reverse is merely ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (of the king Ptolemy), accompanied by the radiated cornucopia of his predecessor. The coins of Alexander (who is styled the ninth Ptolemy, and who reigned eighteen years while Lathurus was reduced to the dominion of Cyprus), have also the simple inscription as above, but they may be distinguished by a singular head-dress. There are also coins of this epoch of Selene, the second wife of Lathurus, Berenice, and Ptolemy X., (known as Ptolemy Alexander), 80 B.C. Berenice succeeded her father for a short time, and there are coins of her reign both alone and after her marriage with Ptolemy Alexander, by whom she was assassinated. The coins attributed to this Alexander and this short reign, are so attributed in consequence of the elephant head-dress in which the regal portrait appears, as is supposed, in imitation of that assumed by his grandmother, Cleopatra. Alexander was put to death by the people, in the year 80 B.C., in consequence of the murder of his wife, Berenice, whom he espoused at the dictation of the Roman power, under whose protection he returned to Egypt.

Ptolemy XI. (80 B.C.), surnamed "Neus Dionysius" (Νεὸς Διονύσιος), but better known as "Auletes" (the flute-player), was an illegitimate son of Lathurus, and succeeded to the throne in consequence of the legitimate descendants of the Ptolemies having become extinct by the death of Ptolemy Alexander. He was expelled for his vices and tyranny, and

fled to Rome, where by bribery he succeeded in enlisting the interest of the Senate, Cicero himself pronouncing an oration in his favour (*pro rege Alexandrino*). But the popular voice was against him, and eventually he retired in disgust; but afterwards obtained privately from Gabinius (pro-consul in Syria) by an enormous bribe of ten thousand talents, the support which replaced him on the throne, when his first act was the murder of his daughter Berenice, who had been elected queen during his expulsion. He only reigned three years after his restoration, which, however, completed twenty-nine from his first accession. He died 51 B.C. His coins have the usual Ptolemaic type of the eagle on the reverse, with the simple inscription—ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, without any surname; but they are easily distinguished; for a sudden decadence in the style of art takes place in this reign, and the portrait on the obverse is not only more poorly executed, but the metal of the silver coinage much thinner, and somewhat in the Roman style, as is the wreath of laurel and sometimes flowers, by which the portraits of this prince may be further distinguished.

Ptolemy XII., by some said to have borne the name of Dionysius, like his father, ascended the throne in the year 51 B.C., and was married to his sister, the celebrated Cleopatra, according to the directions of his father's will, the execution of which had been confided to the Roman Senate. But the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey prevented the Romans from interfering actively; and the eunuch Pothinus having seized the reins of power, Cleopatra was expelled the kingdom, and her brother reigned alone, a course in which he was supported by Pompey. Nevertheless, when Pompey sought refuge in Egypt after his defeat at Pharsalia, he was basely assassinated. On the arrival of Cæsar in Egypt, which quickly followed, the attractions of Cleopatra turned the scale of Roman power in her favour; and her brother, bravely, though vainly, attempting to combat the power of Cæsar, was defeated, his camp stormed, and he himself drowned, while endeavouring to escape by swimming across the Nile. He was only thirteen years of age, and this occurred towards the end of 48 B.C., or early in the following year. His coins, though bearing only the usual inscription, ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, are supposed by some numismatists

to be distinguishable by the ivy wreath, and other emblems of Bacchus, in allusion to his surname, Dionysius (the Greek Bacchus), which are not found on other coins of this series. The portrait, with these accessories, exhibits also a different style of face, while the workmanship is generally superior to that exhibited on the coins of the last reign.

Ptolemy XIII. was the youngest illegitimate son of Auletes, and was declared king by Cæsar, in conjunction with Cleopatra, after the death of his elder brother, in the beginning of the year 47 B.C. His marriage and kingly power were of course merely nominal, on account of his extreme youth. He was carried to Rome by his sister in the year 45 B.C., and after the death of Cæsar cruelly put to death by her in the year 45 B.C. Of this last of the Ptolemies no coins are known, though he enjoyed his titular sovereignty during three years.

Cleopatra was the eldest child of Ptolemy Auletes, and at his death was seventeen years of age. After the death of her second brother she reigned alone; and on being summoned by the triumvir Marc Antony to assign reasons for not having assisted the triumvirs, she repaired in great pomp to meet him in Cilicia. Here it was that her splendid array in ascending the Cydnus took place, so minutely described by Plutarch. She was then in her twenty-eighth year, and in the prime of her personal and mental powers of fascination, which soon subdued the susceptible Antony; and we find him shortly after in Egypt, completely enslaved by her fascinations. "Bewitched," as Augustus stated to the Roman Senate, "by that accursed Egyptian."

She is said to have spoken seven languages fluently, though none of the other Ptolemies mastered even the Egyptian; and her voice is described as being exceedingly musical. Indeed, her powers of attraction must have consisted rather in her accomplishments and manners than in beauty of person; for her portrait, as it appears on coins struck during the residence of Antony in Egypt, would convey the idea of a plain hard-featured woman of sixty, though she died, in the manner so often described, in the thirty-ninth year of her age, 30 B.C. (See the coin of Antony and Cleopatra, in Plate VI.)

Of her children by Antony, coins are in existence

(struck in their honour) on which they are styled "Kings of kings," after the inflated oriental manner, to be described more particularly in the Parthian and Bactrian series of coins. Cæsarion, her (reputed) child by Julius Cæsar, was put to death by Augustus. The statues of Antony, in Alexandria, were thrown down after his death by order of Augustus.

The coins struck by Antony* and Cleopatra in honour of their children are the last that can be classed with those of the Ptolemaic dynasty, which became extinct with Cleopatra.

This series of coins affords some remarkably fine examples of the last grand style of art peculiar to the Greek coinages, but is not considered so valuable in an historical point of view, from the difficulty of assigning the proper coins to each prince—a difficulty, however, which the daily progress in numismatic science is rapidly removing, for with the aid of the dates and other peculiarities of the most remarkable pieces of this beautiful series, they are now attributed with tolerable certainty to several of the respective princes by whom they were issued; and some, such as those of Ptolemy Soter, Energetes, and Philopator are, beyond doubt, correctly and finally assigned to their real issuers.

CHAPTER XI.

(See Plate. VI.)

COINS OF THE SELEUCIDÆ, THE GREEK SOVEREIGNS OF SYRIA.

I HAVE already noticed, in my condensed account of the Macedonian and Egyptian series, how the Syrian empire arose after the death of Alexander, and the wars concerning the partition of his vast conquests in Asia. Among the great captains who had followed him to the East, and shared in its subjugation, Seleucus was one of the most famous; and from his great success in the intestine war which broke out among the generals, after the death of their great

* The coins of Antony himself will be described in the Roman series.

commander, received the name of *Nicanor*, (the victorious.) Like all other heroes of antiquity who have risen to supreme power, his descent was soon traced by obsequious biographers to some god; Apollo being selected as the progenitor of Seleucus the Victorious.

It is well known that he was the son of Antiochus, a general of Philip II., and his wife Laodice; but Justin, no doubt following earlier biographers, states that his mother had a dream, to the effect that her child was the offspring of Apollo; and a ring was found in her bed, bearing the image of an anchor. The child, when born, was found to be marked on the thigh with the same figure, which, continues the same biographer, is also found on all the true descendants of Seleucus, even to the last of the dynasty.

This fable may account for the appearance of the anchor as a minor type on coins of this dynasty, (if, indeed, the type in question be an anchor,) and also for the head of Apollo, which also occurs and under whose semblance the Seleucidan race may have been occasionally pleased to appear.

On the death of Alexander, Seleucus was appointed to the satrapy of Babylon, but afterwards driven out by Antigonus. His recovery of that city, by the aid of Ptolemy, was the first permanent step towards the great eastern empire which afterwards acknowledged his dominion, and to that epoch the dates on his coins, and those of his descendants, refer; it is generally settled by chronologers as October 1, 312 B.C., and the coins of the dynasty are generally dated from that time, as that of the foundation of the monarchy.

I must, however, proceed at once to particularise briefly the reign of each succeeding member of the dynasty, and the coins issued by them, commencing of course, with Seleucus Nicanor, the founder.

Seleucus Nicanor, the "victorious," (from 312 to 282 B.C.)—One of the remarkable acts of Seleucus, when his power was well confirmed, was to send back to Greece the ancient monuments and books that had been carried into Asia by Xerxes, by which he secured the highest popularity among the states of European Greece,—the Athenians erecting a statue in his honour. He founded above thirty cities in Asia, and colonised them with Greeks, thus spreading the language and manners of that country throughout the

vast countries of the East, even to the confines of India. Among the cities thus founded was the celebrated Antiochia, named after his father Antiochus. He was assassinated by his brother-in-law, Ptolemy Ceraunus, during his advance to take possession of Macedonia.*

The coins of Seleucus have, at first, the same types as those of Alexander the Great, but with the simple name, without title, of Seleucus; and, as usual, in the genitive case. He afterwards assumed the title of Basileus (king), and coins occur on which a head, supposed to be a portrait, occurs; such as that on the rare tetradrachm, in which the *horn* and *wing* upon the helmet, common attributes of the statues of Seleucus, render it most probable that it is an absolute portrait. The bull's horn was adopted, as Suidas relates, from the circumstance of Seleucus having overpowered a bull which had escaped from a sacrifice performing by Alexander.† This coin is extremely rare, only three or four being known; one, much worn, is in the British Museum, and another, in very much finer preservation, in the Bank of England.

An unique gold coin, as also a head of this character with the bull's horn, but without the helmet, and which Haym, in his "Tesoro Britannico," describes as then in the Devonshire Collection. (See Plate VI.)

Other coins of Seleucus have the figure of a bull for the principal type of the reverse, especially a large copper coin, the obverse of which has the head and lion's skin, like the coins of Alexander, but with the addition of wings behind the ears. The heads on the early coins of Seleucus, of the Alexander types, with the lion's skin, are by some thought also to be portraits: but this is mere conjecture, without much foundation. Those, however, with that device are the most numerous of his coins, especially those with the addition of the title "Basileus" to the name, which stands thus: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ, (BASILEŌS SELEUKOU) "of the king Seleucus."

Some of his coins differ altogether from the above, except in the inscription, and have a head of Jupiter on the obverse,

* See Lysimachus—Macedonian series.

† A Selenes tradunt, cum Alexandrum iunolantem taurus effugisset, bestiam cornibus prehensam esse retractam; eaque de causâ capiti statuæ ejus addi cornua.

like those of Philip II. of Macedon, with a Minerva for reverse, standing in a car drawn by four elephants, alluding to his Indian campaigns.

There are also other types; but it will be seen that the custom of placing the portrait of the prince on the coinage, was not thoroughly established during his reign.

Antiochus I. (282 to 261 B.C.) received the surname of "Soter" (saviour) in consequence of repeated victories over the Gauls, who invaded Asia Minor during his reign.

Antiochus boldly placed his portrait upon the coinage, a custom which about this time became general in the East, and also in many of the European states. The portrait on the obverse of his coins is very finely executed; as is the Apollo sitting on the cortina—the device which occupies the reverse, with the inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, (BASILEŌS ANTIOCHOU) "of the king Antiochus." There are many other types found on the coins of this period.

Antiochus II., *Theos* (the God), a title he received from the Milesians, whom he delivered from their tyrant, Timarchus,* or, according to some, because he was born in a city of that name. He was the son of Antiochus I., and reigned 261 to 247 B.C.

The Syrian empire was much weakened in this reign by the war with Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt; taking advantage of which, Arsaces detached several provinces, which he governed independently, and thus laid the foundation of the Parthian dynasty; and Theodotus, governor of Bactria, also revolted, making that province an independent kingdom, the coinage of which, from recent discoveries, has become one of the most interesting fields of numismatic study—to be noticed in a separate place. (See Plate VI.)

Antiochus, in order to obtain peace from Ptolemy, married his daughter Berenice,† putting away his former wife, Laodice, whom he recalled after the death of the Egyptian monarch; but her jealousy and revenge induced her to poison her husband when thus recalled, thus ending the career of Antiochus II., after a reign of nineteen years.

His coins are in the usual style of art of the early coins of

* There are coins of the tyrant Timarchus, styling himself King of Babylon, of which six specimens are possessed by the British Museum.

† This connexion between Syria and Egypt is mentioned in the book of

this dynasty, but are various in their devices. They are very fine coins, having the portrait for obverse, and on the reverse a finely executed figure of Hercules, seated, leaning one hand on his club, and the inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, (BASILEŌS ANTIOCHOU) "of the king Antiochus." Some of the coins of Antiochus II. have the Apollo device on the reverse, similar to those of the former reign, and others, again, have the sitting Jupiter of the coinage of Alexander the Great, for reverse; whilst some have on the obverse the galloping Dioscuri, and for reverse a figure of Minerva.

Seleucus II. (from 247 to 227 B.C.)—He assumed the surname of "Callinicus" (καλλινικος), "splendidly victorious," or "conqueror," most probably after his recovery of the provinces which had been overrun by Ptolemy Euergete, to revenge the death of his sister Berenice. His reign, of near twenty years, appears to have been a very stirring one, though historical records are very barren on the subject; but that he eventually expelled his brother Antiochus, who had assumed independent power in a portion of Asia Minor, and invaded the revolted provinces of Bactria and Parthia, though with no result, is well known. He was killed by a fall from his horse during the war with Attalus, king of Pergamus, who had invaded Asia Minor.

The coins of this prince are with difficulty distinguished from those of his son, Seleucus III., who succeeded, as both are without the dates of the Seleucidan era, which in other cases greatly facilitate the correct attribution of later coins of this series. The coins commonly attributed to him are those bearing the inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ, (BASILEŌS SELEUKOU) "of the king Seleucus," with a graceful figure of Apollo leaning on a tripod. When the monograms, which are so frequent on Greek coins, shall be better understood, the difficulties of correct attribution of coins belonging to the different regal series will be greatly lessened. A gold coin, attributed to this prince, with the Apollo reverse, was the only known gold coin of the Seleucidæ, except those of Antiochus the Great, till modern discovery has slightly increased the number.

Daniel (xi. 6) where by the king of the south, Ptolemy is meant, and the king of the north signifies Antiochus.

Seleucus III. (from 227 to 223 B.C.), surnamed *Ceraunus* (Κεραυνός) "the thunderer, or the thunderbolt," a title which appears to have been given him by the soldiery, in derision, as he was both feeble and timid. His coins, as above observed, are difficult to separate from those of his father; but as he was assassinated during the war which he continued against Attalus, at the early age of 20, those with the youngest head may, with some plausibility, be assigned to him, while those, the portraits of which appear with more strongly marked features, may, for similar reasons, be assigned to his father.

Antiochus III. the Great, (from 223 to 187. B.C.), was the brother of his predecessor. This prince, surnamed "the great" (Μέγας), was so fortunate in all his undertakings in the early part of his reign, that he greatly extended the dominions he had received from his immediate predecessor, hoping even to regain the entire sovereignty of Asia, including even Bactria and Parthia; but his war with the Romans, partly in consequence of his having sheltered the fugitive Hannibal, and partly from the unjust aggression against the young king of Egypt, who had been placed under the protection of the great republic, turned the tide of fortune against him, and he was killed in a sacrilegious attempt to seize the treasures of a wealthy temple in Elymais, in order to pay the enormous tribute required by the Romans in consequence of the signal victories of Scipio.

The coins of Antiochus the Great are the first of the series bearing dates; two of which are of the 112th and 117th years of the Seleucidan dynasty, the 23rd and 28th of the reign of Antiochus.

The earliest coins of this reign exhibit Antiochus in early youth, the later ones in middle age; some of the latter being of extraordinarily high relief and very highly finished execution. The silver tetradrachms, or pieces of four drachms, are the principal pieces here referred to, and there are very magnificent gold coins of the same size and similar character; but the greatest variety of types is found in the smaller silver and copper coins. Copper coins of this reign exist, of about the size of the tetradrachms, the workmanship of which is very good. The finest tetradrachms have for reverse, Apollo seated on the cithara, with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, (BASILEŌS ANTIOCHOU) "of the king

Antiochus," with one or more monograms, and one or other of the dates above referred to. (See Plate VI.)

Seleucus IV. (from 187 to 176 B.C.). This reign is poor in a numismatic point of view. The power of the state having been greatly reduced by the Roman war, may, perhaps, account for the low state of the coinage, little money having reached us except small copper coins. These generally bear the prow of a vessel for the reverse; but there are several other types.

Antiochus IV. (from 176 to 164 B.C.), was a brother of Seleucus IV. He was surnamed *Epiphanes*, "the illustrious," but sometimes called in derision *Epimanes*, "the furious." After returning from Rome, where he had been sent by his father, Antiochus III., as a hostage, he attempted to introduce the Greek religion among the Jews, and so caused the revolt of Mattathias and his sons, the Maccabees. He died raving mad at Tabæ, in Persia—as the Jews asserted, in consequence of his sacrilegious crimes.

His coins are remarkable as the first of this series bearing the surnames of the princes. These inscriptions run ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (BASILEŌS ANTIOCHOU THEOU EPIPHANOUS), "of the king Antiochus, the god, the illustrious."

Some of the large copper have a head of Jupiter on the obverse, with the thunderbolt and eagle for reverse; others have a head of Diana on the obverse. The more common tetradrachms have the Alexandrian type of the sitting Jupiter for reverse; but nearly all have the inscription above described, or, ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, "of the illustrious and victorious god." The small copper coins of this reign are remarkable as exhibiting, for the first time, the radiated crown.

Antiochus V. (from 162 to 150, B.C.). This was almost a nominal reign, as the young king was only nine years of age when he ascended the throne, and eleven when killed by his own guards, on the invasion of Demetrius; yet coins of this short reign exist, which are known by the occurrence of his surname, *Eupator*, upon them.

Demetrius I. (from 162 to 150 B.C.), surnamed *Soter*, had been sent as a hostage to Rome by his father, Seleucus IV., to redeem Antiochus, the brother of that monarch. He

escaped from Rome—advised, it is said, by the historian Polybius—with the intention of dispossessing his nephew of the throne, which he easily effected, the Syrians declaring in his favour, and his nephew being killed, as above stated, by his own revolted guards. He received the surname of *Soter*, “saviour,” from the Babylonians, whom he had benefitted by the expulsion of the satrap Heracleides. The Jews were again driven into revolt in this reign, and Judas Maccabæus concluded an alliance with the Romans, by which the independence of Judæa was stipulated for. Surrounded by enemies and difficulties, Demetrius found himself still further pressed by the appearance of an impostor, Alexander Balas, who pretended to be a son of Antiochus Epiphanes. This pretender was supported by the Romans, and by the kings of Pergamus and Cappadocia. In a battle which ensued, Demetrius was slain. His coins have a finely executed head, within a garland or border of olive, on the obverse; and on the reverse, a sitting figure holding a cornucopia; the inscription being ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (BASILEŌS DEMETRIΟΥ), generally with the addition of ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (SŌTEROS) “saviour.”

Alexander Balas (from 150 to 147 B.C.). The origin of the surname of *Balas* is uncertain, but most probably signifies “lord, or king.” He is said by some to have assumed the name of Alexander also, to give a *prestige* to his claim and usurpation. He only reigned four years after the defeat of Demetrius I., when he was defeated by Demetrius II., and afterwards assassinated in Arabia, where he had taken refuge. There are, however, many coins of his reign, especially some large copper ones, bearing his own profile over that of Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor; she appears as the goddess Isis. The reverse is the Alexandrian type of the sitting Jupiter. His silver didrachms, with his own portrait, have the eagle and thunderbolt for reverse; and there are many varieties of types on the small copper. In the inscriptions, he is frequently styled Epiphanes and Nicephorus, after his pretended father, Antiochus Epiphanes. Other inscriptions stand ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (BASILEŌS ALEXANDROU THEOPATOROS EVERGETOU), “of the king Alexander, the son of a father-god, the beneficent.”

Demetrius II. (*Nicator*); Antiochus VI. (*Dionysius Epiphanes*); Diodotus, Tryphon, and Antiochus VII. (*Sidetes*); (occupying together from 147 to 125 B.C.). Demetrius II. received the surname of *Νικτωρ*, "the victorious," from the victory he obtained over Balas. The usurper had caused all the members of the royal family within his reach to be destroyed; but Demetrius had been sent by his father to the island of Crete, where he remained in safety till he was able to raise a body of mercenaries, with which, aided by Ptolemy Philometor, who declared against his son-in-law, he completely defeated Alexander. Ptolemy then bestowed his daughter Cleopatra upon Demetrius, she being a widow in consequence of the murder of her husband by an Arabian emir, with whom he had sought refuge.

Demetrius soon abused the power which he had so fortunately acquired; and the general discontent enabled Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon, to set up Antiochus, an infant son of Alexander Balas, as claimant to the throne, reducing a large portion of Syria under his domination. During this period, called the reign of Antiochus VI., coins were issued in the name of the young Antiochus, surnamed *Theos*, many of which are very fine—a noble tetradrachm, with the portrait wearing a radiated crown, and the Dioscuri for reverse, with the surnames *Dionysius* and *Epiphanes*, being as fine as any of the period; it has on the reverse the date *OP*, the 170th year of the *Seleucidæ*.

Tryphon afterwards murdered the young Antiochus, and proclaimed himself king; at which period he issued a coinage, on which, in addition to the title of king, he assumed that of *Autocrator* (*Αὐτοκράτωρ*), "absolute sovereign, autocrat, or emperor." It is the Greek word by which the Roman title *Imperator* was expressed when Roman money was coined in the Grecian states, after their reduction under the domination of Rome. On the reverse of the coins of Tryphon is a singular helmet, ornamented with the horn of an ibex—a symbol, and part of the costume, of one of the mountain tribes of Asia Minor, which he is supposed to have subdued. During the time of this occupation of part of his kingdom, Demetrius made an effort to increase his dominions eastward, and invaded Parthia, where he was taken prisoner by Mithridates (*Arsaces VI.*), and kept ten years in captivity.

During this period his brother Antiochus *Sidetes*, "the hunter," * or perhaps named from the town of Sidé, where he was brought up, overthrew Tryphon, and firmly established himself on the throne, issuing coins which are called those of Antiochus VII. Some of them have the portrait on the obverse, with a figure of Minerva on the reverse, accompanied by an inscription similar to those of his predecessors, the surname on the coins being *Evergete*, "the benefactor." The finest of his coins, however, are perhaps those with the head of Jupiter on the obverse, and the old Alexandrian type of the sitting Jupiter on the reverse.

Demetrius being released from captivity, and aided by the Parthians, returned to his dominions, and attacked Sidetes, who fell in battle. During his absence in Parthia, where he had married Rhodogune, a daughter of Mithridates, his wife Cleopatra had become the wife of Sidetes; but she could not forgive him his own Parthian marriage, and in the war which shortly ensued with Ptolemy Physcon, who set up another pretender, Alexander Zebina, she refused to afford him refuge in Ptolemais; and he was murdered at Tyre, while endeavouring to effect his escape by sea.

Thus ended the eventful reign of Demetrius II. His coins are numerous, and have generally his portrait for obverse, with Apollo sitting on the cortina for reverse. But one coin, attributed to this reign, has the remarkable reverse of a figure representing the Fortune of the king (*η του Βασιλεως τυχη*)—a personification to which divine honours were assigned by the Syrians. His coins, previous to his captivity in Parthia, have a youthful head without a beard; but those struck after his return have a long beard, after the Parthian fashion, from which country he also appears to have brought the singular type just described.

Alexander Zebina (from 125 to 124 B.C.). Coins are attributed to this usurper, which represent him crowned with rays; they have a standing figure of Minerva for reverse. The portrait on some fine tetradrachms has a simple fillet instead of a crown. Those with the crown of rays are perhaps the most remarkable of his coins, but they are many of them fine; and it appears extraordinary that during a short

* From a Syriac word.

usurpation of one year, he should have been able to issue a coinage so various, and apparently so abundant.

Seleucus V. (124 B.C.), the son of Demetrius II., has left no well authenticated coins. He was assassinated by his mother Cleopatra, who wished to place her younger son, Antiochus, on the throne.

Antiochus VIII. (*Grypus*) (from 124 to 96 B.C.), and Antiochus IX. (*Cyzicenes*) (from 111 to 95 B.C.). Antiochus, surnamed *Grypus*, or "the hook-nosed," from γρύψ, a griffon, was recalled from Athens, where he was studying at the time of his brother's death, to ascend the throne of Syria; Cleopatra, imagining that she might herself govern the state in reality, while the youth of the king would reduce him to a mere shadow, only nominally filling the throne. During the first years of his reign, when the state was in reality governed by his mother, her profile appears with his own on a number of finely executed coins. Some coins of this portion of the reign have the portrait of Antiochus on one side, and that of Cleopatra on the other. Subsequently, she became jealous of his increasing influence in the state, when she attempted to poison him; but, discovering the plot, he forced her to drink the cup of poison prepared for himself. His coins, struck after the death of his mother, have his own portrait only, a fine head, with a simple fillet; and the reverse is a standing figure of Jupiter, with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (BASILEŌS ANTIOCHOU EPIPHANOUS), with a monogram—and other small types, within a garland of olive; Epiphanes is the surname used on his coins; but, as may have been observed in the description of this series of coins, these names are frequently different to the popular ones by which historians have designated the princes of this dynasty. (See Plate VI.)

About the year 111 B.C., a son of Antiochus Sidetes, Antiochus Cyzicus—so named from having been brought up in that city—laid claim to a portion of the kingdom; and, after a war of several years, a division was made, Cyzicus taking Coele-Syria, and Phœnicia, while Grypus took the other provinces. Cyzicus, or Cyzicenus, is described as Antiochus IX. On the death of his brother he attempted to gain possession of the whole of Syria, but his claims were resisted by Seleucus, eldest son of Grypus, and he

was killed in battle. His coins have a well executed portrait, and a standing figure of Minerva holding a Victory, on the reverse; with the inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ (BASILEŌS ANTIOCHOU PHILOPATOROS), "of the king Antiochus, loving-of-his-father."

Seleucus VI. (*Epiphanes* and *Nicator*) (from 96 to 94 B.C.). His tetradrachms first begin to show a decadence in Greco-Syrian art; otherwise they are not remarkable. The portrait is in the usual style of recent coins of the series, and the reverse the same as that of the coins of Cyzicenus, with the difference only of the surnames *Epiphanes* and *Nicator* in the inscriptions.

Antiochus X. (*Eusebes*), and on his coins *Philopator*. Antiochus XI. (*Epiphanes*), Philip I., Antiochus XII. (*Dionysius*), and Demetrius III. (from 96 to 83 B.C.). *Epiphanes*, *Demetrius*, and *Philip* were sons of *Grypus*, and *Eusebes* and *Dionysius*, of *Cyzicenus*. Their disputes plunged the state into ruinous civil war; for Antiochus, called the Tenth, had no sooner conquered Seleucus, than he had to contend with Antiochus *Epiphanes*, called the Eleventh, and *Philip*. The former being defeated and slain, *Philip* assumed the crown.

The time of the death of Antiochus X. is uncertain, but he appears to have fallen in battle against the Parthians. Demetrius III., was now put forward by Ptolemy Lathyrus; and he and his brother *Philip* became masters of the whole of Syria. Demetrius was eventually subdued by his brother *Philip*, and sent prisoner into Parthia.

Antiochus XII. (*Dionysius*) now assumed the title of king, but was killed in a battle against Aretas, king of Arabia. It appears probable that *Philip* was conquered and put to death by Tigranes, king of Armenia, to whom the Syrians, disgusted with the cruelties and wasting civil wars of the last princes of the Seleucidan race, had offered the kingdom.

The coins of these six cotemporary princes are very similar in style of art, which is very inferior to that of the coinage of their predecessors. The reverses are generally the sitting Jupiter of the tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, and many of the coins are of base metal (*potin*). The surnames of Antiochus X. on his coins are *Eusebes* and *Philopator*;

of Antiochus XI., Philopator and Callinicus; those of Philip, Epiphanes and Philadelphus, "brother-lover," in allusion to his twin brother Antiochus XI.; those of Antiochus XII., Philopator Callinicus; and those of Demetrius III., Theos Philopator and Soter, and also Philometor Evergetes Callinicus. The Philometor, "mother-lover," was in allusion to his mother Cleopatra Selene, of whom some small but pretty coins are known.

Tigranes (83 to 69 B.C.). Tigranes possessed great part of Syria during the period above shown, and the coins which bear his name are supposed to be of Syrian rather than Armenian mintage. They are well executed, and bear fine portraits, wearing the Armenian crown or tiara; and on the reverse, some of them have a sitting figure wearing a turretted crown, and treading on a river deity, supposed to be the Euphrates, in token of his conquest of Syria. The inscription is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ, "of the king Tigranes."



Antiochus XIII. (*Asiaticus*), (69 to 65 B.C.), was the son of Antiochus X. and Cleopatra Selene. He took refuge in Rome during the time that Tigranes held possession of Syria; but after the defeat of that prince by Pompey, he was allowed by Lucullus to take possession of the Syrian throne, but only for a brief period; for in the year 65 B.C. the whole of Syria was declared by Pompey a Roman province. There are, nevertheless, coins of this last of the Seleucidæ, but only of the smaller class. They have a bearded portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse a standing figure holding a Victory, and the inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ (BASILEŌS ANTIOCHOU DIONYSOU PHILOPATOROS CALLINICOU), "of the king Antiochus Dionysius Philopator Callinicus," his surname Asiaticus not being found on coins.

The interest and beauty of this series of regal coins may be to some extent appreciated by the specimens exhibited in plate VI., as far as they can be by outline engravings.

Their historical importance is great, especially on account of their numerous dates and their certain attribution; but I need not dwell upon their importance here, as the works specially devoted to them by Vaillant, Gough, and others, sufficiently prove both their value as historical documents and their beauty and interest as works of art.

CHAPTER XII.

(See Plate VI.)

THE COINS OF THE ARSACIDÆ KINGS OF PARTHIA, AND THEIR SUCCESSORS THE SASSANIDÆ, WHO ESTABLISHED THE SECOND PERSIAN EMPIRE.

THE series of coins known as that of the Arsacidæ forms a most interesting suite of historical monuments, which, though seldom beautiful as works of art, are yet remarkable, both on account of the illustrations of costume which they afford, and also for their unusually full inscriptions, containing, at full length, surnames and titles, which enable the student to assign each coin so inscribed, with great probability of correctness, to the reign to which it belongs. But this is not always so easy, as would appear, history being silent as to many of the surnames which have been preserved to us by coins. The inscriptions are invariably Greek, and the types prove that the Greek polytheism had taken firm root in the vast Asiatic districts comprised within the boundaries of the Parthian empire founded by the Arsacidæ, throughout which the prevalence of a Grecian sentiment is strikingly expressed on some of the coins of Arsacidan princes, which bear the inscription ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ—lover of the Greeks.

In the previous chapter I have spoken of the revolt of the more eastern or Indian provinces of the Syrian empire founded by Seleucus Nicator, which defections were followed,



ARSACES ORODES
KING OF PARTHIA

S



ANTIOCHUS
KING OF



THE GREAT
SYRIA

S



PTOLEMY VIII
KING OF EGYPT

S



COIN OF THE



SASSANIAN DYNASTY

S

ARTAXERXES
KING OF PERSIA

CLEOPATRA &
ANTIOCHUS VIII.

S

KING & QUEEN OF SYRIA



COIN OF VARARANES



KING OF PERSIA

S

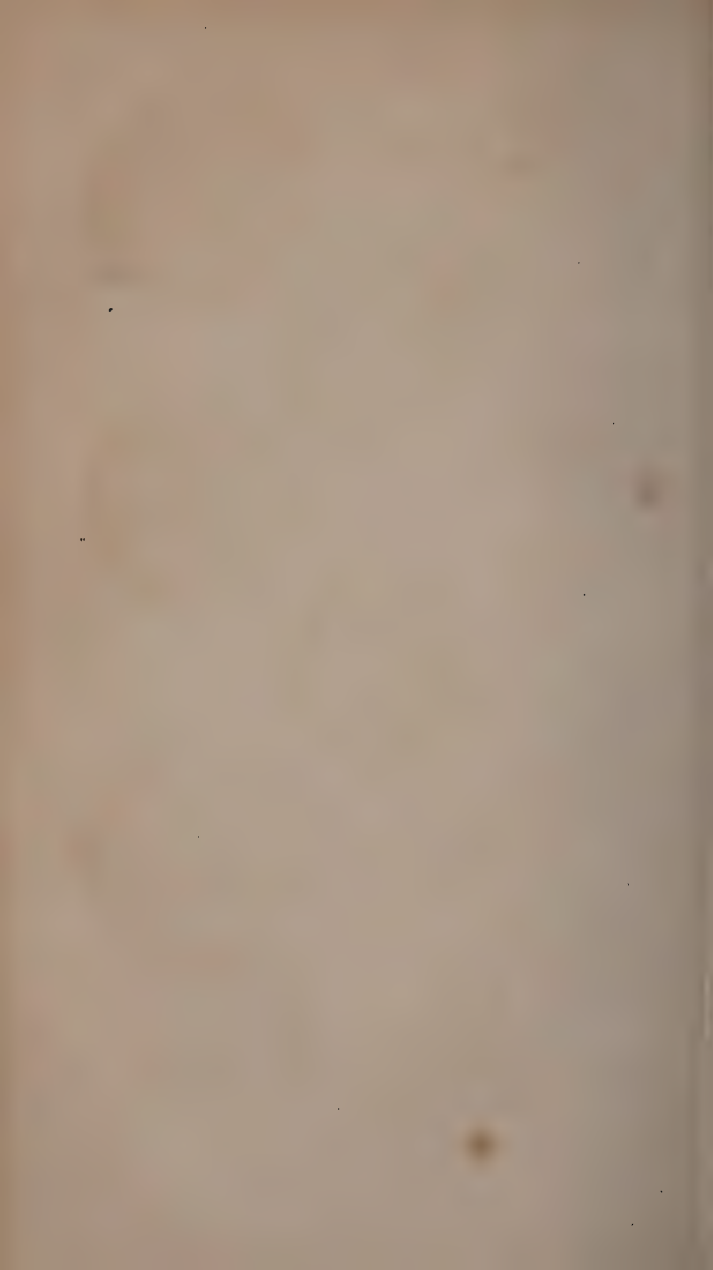
COIN OF CLEOPATRA

S

QUEEN OF EGYPT

WITH PORTRAIT OF
MARC ANTHONY ON REVERSE





in the reign of his grandson, Antiochus II., by the Parthian revolt led by Arsaces, the founder of the dynasty called the Arsacidæ, who all continued to bear the name of the founder of the monarchy, till its subversion by the Persian rebellion. In addition to the family name of Arsaces, these princes are all described by historians with an additional name, as Artabanus, Mithridates, &c. &c., which names, however, never appear upon the coinage.

The coins of this dynasty, according to the common Greek practice in other regal series, have the portrait head on the obverse, without inscription, and on the reverse, some favourite deity or symbol, accompanied by an inscription. The inscriptions on the ordinary coins of this series, near the commencement of the monarchy, are simple, such as ΑΡΣΑΚΟΤ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (of the King Arsaces); afterwards, as the power of the state increased, such titles as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ (King of Kings) are adopted: and at last we have ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, ΑΡΣΑΚΟΤ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ, ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ, "of the King of Kings, Arsaces, the Great, the Just, the Beneficent, the Illustriously Born, the Lover of the Greeks," an inscription which occurs on a coin of Arsaces XII.

Arsaces I., (from about 250 to 242 B.C.)—From the statements of Strabo and Justin, it appears that Arsaces was of Scythic race, and the leader of a robber-tribe who invaded Parthia, and, defeating the Greek governor, assumed the title of king. The account of Arrian differs materially, stating that Arsaces was the brother of one Tiridates, a youth who had been grossly insulted by the Syrian governor of Parthia, Agathocles, or Pherecles, and who consequently headed a rebellion which became successful, detaching that vast province from the Syrian empire.*

The coins attributed to the first Arsaces bear a youthful head, wearing a singularly formed helmet on the reverse, resembling the tiara on the coins of Tigranes,† without

* There is a fine copper coin of the town of Amastris, belonging to a later period, which is thought by some to commemorate this event, and the consequent foundation of the Parthian empire: on one side is a fine youthful head, and on the other a figure holding the head of a decapitated trunk, which lies at his feet.

† See end of Chapter on coins of Seleucidæ.

inscription; and on the reverse is a sitting figure holding a bow, which Visconti considers a debased copy of the sitting Apollo on some of the coins of the Seleucidæ, but which may possibly be a reassumption of the crowned archer, the ancient symbol of Persia, found on the darics,* which, as the independent government of the Arsacidæ was the re-establishment of the old Asiatic supremacy, seems highly probable, especially as later kings of the race assumed the ancient tiara or crown of the Persian kings. The inscription on the reverse is simply ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, "of the King Arsaces."

Arsaces II., Tiridates, (from about 242 to about 214 B.C.) —Arsaces is stated by some historians to have reigned 37 years; but this would leave no time for the reign of the first Arsaces, which by several authorities is shown to have commenced about 250 B.C. I have therefore selected another date for the commencement of this reign. A coin is supposed to belong to this reign, struck after Arsaces had defeated Seleucus Callinicus,† who endeavoured to recover the revolted provinces of his father's empire. It has the inscription on the reverse—ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, "of the great King Arsaces."

Arsaces III., Artabanus I., (from about 210 to 196 B.C.) —He was the son of the preceding, and had to resist an attempt of Antiochus the Great to recover Parthia. Coins are assigned to him which have a portrait wearing a royal fillet and a long beard,‡ the head executed in the Greek style. The reverse has the archer mentioned in the reign of Arsaces I., and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. A brother of this king is supposed to have conquered a portion of Armenia, and founded the Arsacidan dynasty of that kingdom, to be mentioned in another place. (See list of regal coins in Appendix.)

Arsaces IV., Phriapatius (from 196 to 181 B.C.), was a son of the preceding, and left three sons, Phraates, Mithridates,

* See page 14.

† Some authorities suppose that the invasion of Seleucus was defeated in the reign of Arsaces I.; and if so, this coin possibly belongs to that reign.

‡ Demetrius II., king of Syria, after his captivity in Parthia, wore a beard after the Parthian fashion. His bearded portraits on Syrian coins were struck after his return.

and Artabanus. It is difficult to attribute coins to this reign, and those supposed to belong to it are not remarkable.

Arsaces V., Phraates (from 181 to 177 B.C.), subdued the Mardi, and added their territory to Parthia. Though he had several sons, he left the kingdom to his brother, Mithridates. A coin attributed to Arsaces V. has a bearded portrait on the obverse, similar to that of Arsaces III., but more formally executed. The reverse is an archer, with the inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, "of the King of Kings, the Great, of Arsaces the Illustrious." Eckhel considers this title more appropriate to the events of the next reign, and therefore is inclined to consider it should be placed there; but in many public collections the coin is attributed, as above, to Arsaces V.

Arsaces VI., Mithridates I., (from 179 to 139 B.C.)—He subdued all Media and Persia, and captured Babylon, and obtained possession of much of the Indian territory possessed by the Greco-Bactrian prince Eucratides,* whom he defeated; and his empire extended from the Hindu Caucasus to the Euphrates. It was in this reign that Demetrius II., King of Syria, invaded Parthia, and was defeated and taken prisoner, but kindly treated during his captivity, Mithridates giving him his daughter Rhodogune in marriage.† On a tetradrachm, attributed to this reign, the portrait is a boldly executed head, wearing a long beard and a broad fillet. The reverse has a standing figure, apparently Hercules, with a lion-skin over one arm, which also supports the club; the hand is extended, and holds a wand, or sceptre. The inscription is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ, "of the Great King Arsaces, Lover of the Greeks." His munificent treatment of his Greek prisoner, Demetrius, is a fine illustration of the admiration of Greek civilisation, expressed on the national coinage.

Arsaces VII., Phraates II. (from 139 to 126 B.C.), was the son of the preceding. He was attacked by Antiochus Sidetes, who defeated the Parthians in three engagements, but was himself afterwards defeated, losing his life in the battle. Arsaces was himself defeated and slain soon after by the

* See Chapter on Greek coins of Bactria, &c.

† See coins of Seleucidæ.

Scythians, whom Antiochus had called to his aid. The total defeat of the Parthians is supposed to have been caused by the defection during the battle of the Greek prisoners whom Arsaces had caused to enter his service. Coins attributed to Arsaces VII. have a portrait wearing the antique crown or tiara of Persia, adopted, perhaps, in consequence of the conquest of the territory of ancient Persia in the preceding reign. The inscription round the figure of the archer on the reverse is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, "of the great King Arsaces, of the Son of a Father-god, of the Victorious." The epithet "son of a father-god" may have been adopted in grateful memory of the large additions made by his predecessor to the Parthian monarchy.

On some coins attributed to him the simple surname ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΩΡ, "father-lover," is found, and such are supposed to have been struck when he was associated in the government during the life of his father,—the ΘΕΟΠΑΤΩΡ, "son of a father-god," being added after the death of his father. The circle of stags round the tiara of the portrait are supposed by Visconti to allude to the swiftness of the Parthian cavalry, to which many of their successes in battle were owing; a similar conjecture to that put forward respecting the same device on coins of Mithridates, king of Pontus. The epithet ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ, "lover of the Greeks," is supposed to have been continued on some of the coins of this reign to gain popularity in Syria, the entire conquest of which was at one time meditated by this prince.

Arsaces VIII., Artabanus II., (from 126 to 115 B.C.)—The youngest son of Arsaces IV., was killed in an engagement with the Scythians, and the coins, attributed to him on slight grounds, are not remarkable.

Arsaces IX., Mithridates II., (from 115 to 85 B.C.)—This prince is said to have added many provinces to the Parthian empire, and to have assumed in consequence the title of "great;" but to the south-east the Scythian conqueror Azes made great inroads on provinces formerly under Greek domination, conquering Affghanistan and Bactria, and establishing his seat of government in Balkh. The Romans held their first intercourse with Parthia in this reign, Mithridates sending Orobazus to Sulla, who was engaged in restoring Ariobarzanes to the throne of Cappadocia, and re-

questing an alliance, which was granted. The coins attributed to this reign closely resemble others of the series.

Arsaces X., Mnascires, (85 to 77 B.C.)—It is conjectured that this prince was the Mnascires mentioned by Lucian, who lived to the age of ninety-six. The events of this supposed reign are lost in obscurity; but Arsaces Phraates is supposed to have been a rival for the throne, probably on the ground of re-establishing the ancient faith of central Asia to the exclusion of the Greek Polytheism, as the epithet, *Συνηγὸς Ζαραστρεως*, "the defender of Zoroaster," is found on some coins attributed to him; and the conjecture is rendered more probable, as this was eventually the ground of the triumphant revolt of Artaxerxes, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, who eventually re-established the fire-worship.

Arsaces XI., Sanatroces, (from 77 to about 70 B.C.) was placed upon the Parthian throne when eighty years of age, and died while the Roman leader Lucullus was engaged in the war against Tigranes, king of Armenia. The coins of this reign are not mistakeable, as they bear the name of Sanatroces (*ΣΑΝΑΤΡΟΙΚΗΣ*).

Arsaces XII., Phraates III., surnamed Theos (from about 70 to 55 B.C.), was a son of Sanatroces. Tigranes, king of Armenia, applied to this prince for assistance against the Romans: he is said, however, to have concluded an alliance with the Romans at that time. Afterwards he contemplated attacking Pompey, who in a negotiation had refused to give him his usual title, King of Kings; but war was not commenced, and in the meantime Arsaces XII. was murdered by his sons. His coins are poor, and the portrait has the rows of stiff wiglike curls that distinguish the later portraits of this series; they have, however, magnificent inscriptions, of which that given in the introductory remarks to this series is an example.

Arsaces XIII., Mithridates III. (55 B.C.), the murderer of his father, was expelled the throne for his cruelties, and his brother, Orodes, succeeded him. Mithridates applied to the Roman general, Gabinius, then in Syria, to reinstate him, and it is possible he might have succeeded in his request had not Gabinius immediately after received a more tempting offer from one of the last Ptolemies (Ptolemy Auletes) to replace

him on the throne of Egypt in return for an enormous sum. Probably no coins were struck during his short reign.

Arsaces XIV., Orodes I. (from 55 to 37 B.C.), was one of the ablest and most powerful of the Parthian princes. In the beginning of his reign the Romans, under the command of Crassus, sustained the signal defeat in which that commander lost his life, and in which 30,000 Roman soldiers were killed or taken prisoners. Orodes even attempted to conquer the whole of Syria, but he sustained several defeats. At last, during the lethargy of Antony, under the fascination of Cleopatra, the Parthian king overran and reduced the whole of the country, as well as Cilicia. But Antony, roused at last, sent his most able lieutenant, Ventidius, against Orodes, and two signal victories followed the new appointment, in the last of which, Pacorus, the eldest son of Orodes, was slain, and the whole of the Parthian conquests recovered by the Romans, who had previously conquered Syria, and declared it a Roman province as early as 63 B.C.

The news of this last disaster, and the death of his favourite son, so preyed upon the mind of the aged Orodes, that he gave up the throne to his son Phraates.* He had many wives, and is said to have left thirty sons besides Phraates. His coins are much finer than those of his immediate predecessors, and the finest are supposed to have been minted in Syria during his temporary possession of that country, which may account for their resemblance in style to some of the coins of the Seleucidæ. The eagles which appear as ornaments on the dress of some of his portraits on the tetradrachms, are supposed by Visconti to commemorate the capture of the Roman standards on the destruction of the army of Crassus. (See Plate VI.)

Arsaces XV., Phraates IV., (from 37 to 4 B.C.)—He is said to have murdered his thirty brothers and even his own eldest son, in order that there might be no member of the royal family who could be placed on the throne in his stead,—an abominable crime that the modern practice of polygamy in the east has often rendered politically necessary even in times near to our own. The seat of Parthian government at this period was Seleucia on the Tigris.

* Some historians aver that he was afterwards assassinated by Phraates.

Marc Antony invaded Parthia in this reign, but was unsuccessful, and, on making a truce, is said to have bestowed on Phraates the Italian maid Thermusa, who became his queen, and bore him a son, who, aided by his mother, effected the death of Phraates by poison. But during the earlier part of their marriage she exercised great influence over Phraates, causing his four other sons and their wives and children to be given up to Augustus as hostages at the time the Roman standards, taken from Crassus, were given up.*

Coins were struck by Phraates in honour of his Italian wife, Thermusa. One of them in the British Museum has the inscription, ΘΕΑΣ ΟΥΡ [ΑΝΙΑΣ ΘΕΡ] ΜΟΥ ΒΑΣ [ΙΑΕΑΣ] "of the Heavenly Goddess, of the Queen Thermusa." The letters in brackets are off the coin in the museum, but are perfect on other specimens.

The coins of Phraates relapse into the usual stiff style of workmanship of the later specimens of this series, and are not remarkable. The portrait with the regal fillet very broad, some of them appearing to be composed of three or more bands passing straight from the forehead to the upper part of the head, below which appear three or four stiff rows of curls, a style common to nearly all the remaining coins of the series.

Arsaces XVI., Phraates.—The murder of his father caused him to be hated by his subjects, who soon expelled him, and elected in his stead Orodes, of a collateral branch of the royal family. No coins can with certainty be attributed to this reign.

Arsaces XVII., Orodes II., (4 B.C. to 14 A.D.); Arsaces XVIII., Vonones, (14 to 18 A.D.); Arsaces XIX., Artabanus III., (18 to 41 A.D.); Arsaces XX., Gotarzes, (from 41 to about 45 A.D.); Arsaces XXI., Bardanes, (put to death 47 A.D.); Arsaces XXII., Vonones II., (49 to 52 A.D.) occupying, collectively, the period from about 4 B.C. to 52 A.D., embracing the period from the middle of the reign of Augustus nearly to the end of that of Claudius;

* Such importance did the Roman senate attach to the recovery of these ensigns that coins were struck to commemorate their reception at Rome, with the inscription—SIGNIS RECEPTIS.

during the whole of which period the Romans were more or less mixed up with the affairs of Parthia.

Orodes was put to death by his subjects for his cruelty; and the Romans were requested to send back Vonones, one of the sons of Phraates IV. He was disliked on account of his Roman habits and manners acquired by his long residence in Italy, and Artabanus, then King of Media (but of the family of the Arsacidæ), was called in to replace him, and he retired to the Roman province of Syria, where he was allowed to reside, with the title of king, but was eventually put to death by Tiberius, as Suetonius states, on account of his great treasure, which he carried with him from Parthia. Artabanus disputed the possession of Armenia with the Romans, and claimed the treasure carried into Syria by Vonones. But his tyranny became insupportable to his subjects, who applied to the Romans for Phraates, another son of Phraates IV.; this prince, on his arrival in Parthia, soon died, in consequence of disusing the Roman mode of living to which he had been so long accustomed. Tiberius now set up Tiridates as a claimant to the Armenian territory, and eventually to the Parthian throne, Artabanus being compelled to fly the country. Artabanus, however, taking advantage of intestine troubles, returned and drove out Tiridates, seizing Armenia also, after the death of Tiberius, and would have invaded Syria but for the vigilance of Vitellius, with whom he concluded a peace. He was again expelled by the Parthian nobles for his cruelty, but reinstated by the assistance of Izales, a prince styling himself King of Adiabene. Artabanus, who reigned during the most active period of the life of Christ, died soon afterwards, leaving the kingdom to his son Bardanes, who was soon put to death, when a civil war ensued between his two brothers, Gotarzes and another Bardanes, who both possessed the throne alternately during short periods. The Parthians, towards the end of the last period of the supremacy of Gotarzes, requested the Roman emperor, Claudius, to send out a grandson of Phraates IV., still living in Rome, but he was slain in the combat which ensued after the death of Gotarzes. Vonones II., who succeeded him, reigned but a short time, and little is known of him.

The coins of this period are poor, and assigned to each

prince on very questionable authority. Most of them have bearded portraits wearing the royal fillet straight across the top of the head, below which the stiff rows of curls, before mentioned, form three or four hard lines: the dress is generally a sort of Persian robe. The reverse has frequently a figure sitting on a kind of throne, in a costume similar to that of the portrait head on the obverse, in front of which stands a figure resembling Minerva, extending her right hand holding a laurel wreath towards the sitting figure, and on four sides of the group, are portions, generally two lines deep, of an inscription similar to the one mentioned in the introduction to this chapter.

A coin of unusual style is, however, attributed to Artabanus III.: it has a boldly executed full face, and on the reverse, a horseman (apparently a king) receiving the submission of a town, personified by a female figure; this coin bears the Seleucidan date TAN (338).

An undoubted coin of Vonones II. may also be particularised;* it has on the obverse the portrait of Vonones, with the name and title round it in the Roman manner, and also in the nominative case, according to Roman usage, instead of the genitive, nearly universal on Greek coins. It stands ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΝΩΝΗΣ; on the reverse is a figure of Victory with the inscription—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΝΩΝΗΣ ΝΕΙΚΕΚΑC ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΝ.

Arsaces XXIII., Vologeses I., (from 52 to 85 A.D., or according to some, to 99 A.D.)—He was a son of Vonones II., by a Greek courtesan according to Tacitus, but according to Josephus he was a son of Artabanus III. This energetic reign forms a striking contrast to the previous period of confusion. The successes of his arms were such as to cause considerable alarm at Rome, where the youthful Nero had just ascended the imperial throne, at the age of seventeen. Vologeses maintained the war so successfully against the Romans, that Nero was compelled to grant Armenia to his brother Tiridates, only claiming the compliment that he should come to Rome and receive the kingdom as a gift from the emperor.

After Nero's death, Vologeses offered to assist Vespasian with 40,000 Parthians, an offer declined by the Roman; in

* In the collection of the India House.

the correspondence, the Parthian monarch styled himself Great King of Kings, but the Roman added no title to the simple name of Vespasianus. He afterwards sent an ambassador to Titus on his return from the conquest and destruction of Jerusalem, to compliment him on his success. He founded a great city on the banks of the Euphrates, naming it after himself, Vologesocerta. He continued to reign till the time of Domitian, and is supposed by Professor Lassen to have recovered Kabool and Candahar from the Kadphises race of Scythian princes.*

The coins assigned to him have, however, little to distinguish them from others of the series about this period.

Arsaces XXIV., Pacorus, (from between 85 and 99 to 115 A.D.), was a son of Vologeses II. Little is known of his reign, except that he was in alliance with Decebalus, king of the Dacians, and that he is supposed to be that prince who fortified and enlarged the city of Ctesiphon. Coins with an Arian legend, coined perhaps in the newly conquered Indian provinces, and bearing the name of Pakores, are attributed to this prince.

Arsaces XXV., Chosroes, (from 113 to 122 A.D.), another son of Vologeses I. Having expelled the son of Tiridates from Armenia to make room for his own nephew, the Emperor Trajan considered that the expulsion of the son of a king acknowledged by the Romans was equivalent to a declaration of war; and proceeded to invade Parthia, when, after a series of brilliant successes, he dethroned Chosroes, and appointed Parthaspates in his place. It was during these brilliant campaigns that Trajan received the title of Optimus from the senate; and on the appointment of Parthaspates, coins were struck in Rome with the inscription *REX PARTHIS DATUS*, "a King given to the Parthians," and the golden throne of Parthia was carried to Rome to decorate the triumph of the conqueror. After the death of Trajan, however, Chosroes recovered his kingdom; and Hadrian, more intent upon consolidating than extending the vast empire he was called to govern, gave up all Trajan's conquests beyond the Euphrates, the former Roman frontier, and made peace with Chosroes.

* See Chapter on Græco-Bactrian coins.

Arsaces XXVII., Vologeses II., (from about 122 to 149 A.D.), succeeded his father. Part of Parthia was overrun by a vast horde of Alani in this reign, but peace was maintained with the Romans, till the death of Hadrian. On the succession of Antoninus, he sent ambassadors to Rome to present him with a golden crown, an event commemorated on the Roman coins of that reign; he afterwards demanded of Antoninus the golden throne of Parthia, and on the refusal of his demand, prepared to invade Armenia, but was eventually deterred from attempting the expedition.

Arsaces XXVIII., Vologeses III., (from about 149 to between 180 and 190 A.D.)—Vologeses III. was probably a son of the preceding. During the remainder of the reign of Antoninus, he remained at peace with the Romans, but on the death of that emperor the long threatened war broke out. At first Armenia and nearly the whole of Syria fell into the power of the Parthians. But on the arrival of Lucius Verus at Antioch, Cassius was appointed to the command of the Roman army, and the forces of Vologeses were driven back with great loss. Assyria and Mesopotamia were invaded, and the capital cities, Ctesiphon and Seleucia, both taken, sacked, and partially destroyed. Armenia was also completely subdued, and its capital Artaxata taken.

The coins of this reign are barbarous in style, but yet exhibit a certain neatness of execution which soon after degenerates into utter rudeness. The portraits on the coins attributed to Vonones III. wear a kind of tiara, with a singular striped or plaited lappet falling down at the back. The beard is long, but neat and square at the bottom, and arranged in regular rows of curls, and the dress appears richly embroidered with a pattern resembling an olive branch.

Arsaces XXIX., Vologeses IV., (from about 190 to about 212 A.D.)—In the contest between Pescennius Niger and Septimus Severus for the Roman empire (193 A.D.). Vologeses IV. assisted the former. Severus, after Niger was conquered, suddenly turned his armies against the Parthians. His invasion being quite unexpected was the more successful, especially as he was accompanied and advised by a brother of Vologeses. He took and plundered Ctesiphon in the year 199 A.D., but did not permanently occupy the country

At the death of Vologeses, which happened in the beginning of the reign of Caracalla, a civil war broke out among the sons of Vologeses, when the strength of the country was much wasted. The coins of this reign are of uncertain attribution and in no way remarkable.

Arsaces XXX., Vologeses V., (from about 212 to 215 A.D.)—Caracalla made war upon this prince about 215 or 216 A.D., because he refused to surrender the persons of two fugitives who had fled to his country for refuge; but the war was not prosecuted, as he gave them up on the approach of the Roman forces. The supposed coins are not well authenticated.

Arsaces XXXI., Artabanus IV., (from about 216 to 226 A.D.)—Artabanus appears to have been a brother of the preceding, whom he dethroned. According to Herodian, Caracalla entered Parthia in the year 216 A.D., under pretence of asking the daughter of Artabanus in marriage, and when Artabanus met him, accompanied by his principal nobles, unarmed, Caracalla fell treacherously upon them and put the greater number to the sword, Artabanus himself escaping with difficulty. In 217 A.D., Artabanus raised a large army, and marching against the Romans under Macrinus, who had succeeded Caracalla, a dreadful battle was fought near Nisibis, which continued two days without victory declaring itself for either side. On the third day Macrinus informed Artabanus of the death of Caracalla, as against him the Parthian resentment was chiefly directed, offering at the same time to return the prisoners taken by Caracalla, and pay sums of money in addition: to which terms Artabanus assented, and withdrew his troops.

But these continual contests with the power of Rome, and its highly disciplined troops, had wasted the resources of the Parthian princes; and the Persians, pining after their long-lost independence, revolted under the leadership of Ardshir (Artaxerxes), the son (or descendant) of Sassan, who, after gaining three great battles, at length took prisoner Artabanus and put him to death, A.D. 226.* Thus ended the Parthian empire, after it had endured 471 years; the Parthians now being compelled to submit to

* Some chronologists make it 235 A.D.

Ardshir, the monarchy of Parthia became merged in a second Persian empire. A branch of the Arsacidæ, however, established in Armenia, continued in power long after this period, and will be spoken of among the minor dynasties whose coins have come down to us. (See Appendix.)

In the earlier periods of the Parthian monarchy the coinage consisted of silver and copper,—the silver very pure, but gold was never issued. At late periods the silver coins were so much adulterated as hardly to deserve the name, those of the last prince's being classed in cabinets with *potin* or coins of base metal. They vary very much in size, and it would be exceedingly difficult to ascertain what scale they represent. But the original coinage was doubtless founded on the Greek drachma; tetradrachmas, didrachmas, and drachmas, being found in the earlier periods, of correct weight and great purity.

The costume on some of the later coins is singular, the portraits being represented wearing a sort of tiara embroidered with pearls, and a large ornament apparently composed of pearls covering the ear. The secondary names of this series, such as Orodes, Artabanus, Phraates, &c., mentioned by historians, are but rarely found on the coinage, while the surnames on the coins, Philopator, Evergeté, &c., are never mentioned in history, which renders the attribution of the coins exceedingly difficult. Vaillant, in his first great work, has, however, done much to clear up the intricacy of the subject, and his explanation of the coins has proved the best aid in unravelling the difficulties and chronology of Parthian history. The later work of Eckhel, containing a condensed and corrected view of the subject, and Richter and Krausa, will also be found valuable works to the curious student of the subject, as well as the works of Prinsep, Wilson, and Lassen, and Visconti's great work, the "Iconographie Grecque." This series is very well furnished (with specimens) in the collection of the British Museum; but the finest collection of Parthian coins in London is undoubtedly that at the India house, presented by Sir H. Willock.

CHAPTER XIII.

COINS OF THE SASSANIDÆ, THE SUCCESSORS OF THE ARSACIDÆ IN
CENTRAL ASIA, AND THE GREEK COINS OF BACTRIA AND INDIA.

ARDISHIR, or Ardshir, the Artaxerxes of the Romans, (from A.D. 226 to 240) was one of those extraordinary men who know how to seize and use those means by which great and permanent revolutions are effected. He was the son of Babec, an inferior officer in the army of Artabanus, and grandson of Sassan. The latter appears to have been a personage of some importance, as the princes who followed Ardishir preferred assuming that as the family name to either Babec or Ardishir. Ardishir himself is said to have been a distinguished officer in the Parthian army, and to have first conceived the idea of revolt in consequence of neglect. But the means by which he succeeded in raising a powerful party against the Parthian sovereign was the renewed idea of Persian independence; for the principal part of the territories over which a Parthian family had so long held sway was no other than ancient Persia. Ardishir, therefore, declared himself the heir of the great Cyrus, descended from the ancient kings of Persia. He further strengthened the popular feeling thus created in his favour by announcing his intention to re-establish the ancient religion of the country,—that of Zoroaster, which, though openly professed by the Parthian court, was nevertheless made secondary to Greek philosophy and Greek polytheism. For the Parthians conquering the country, as they did, soon after the death of Alexander the Great, adopted all the forms of Greek civilisation, and even the language, which became (much as French is now in Russia) the language of the court and the cultivated classes, while the ancient national dialect was still spoken by the mass of the people. The restoration of the national language as that of the princes and nobles, as well as of the people, was a principal cause of the permanence of the insurrection of Ardishir. He did not therefore, on attaining supreme

power, assume the title of "King of Kings" in the Greek form, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, but in the Persian equivalent—*Shahinshah*.

Ardishir, on feeling his sovereignty firmly established, felt so thoroughly his power as the head of a vast population, of whose highest national feelings he was, as it were, the impersonation, that he ventured to defy at once the giant power of Rome, claiming from the Emperor Alexander Severus the immediate cession of all those portions of the Roman empire that had belonged to Persia in the time of Cyrus and Xerxes. An immediate war was the consequence. Ardishir collected an army, the immense numbers of which may be estimated by the fact, that the cavalry alone amounted to 170,000, his armed elephants amounted to 700, and his war-chariots to 1800. But, notwithstanding this vast array of power, he was unable to drive the Romans from one of their Asiatic or African possessions; nor could Alexander Severus, on the other hand, do more than preserve his own dominions.

The events of this remarkable reign were as great a breaking down of the Greek form of civilisation in the vast countries of central Asia, as the great inroads of the northern barbarians were of the Roman organisation of western Europe; and the Sassanian coins are a proof of this great change. The Greek inscriptions disappear, giving way to Persian legends written in Arian characters, as some term them, and the design of the type, though not so artistic as even the rudest coins where a remnant of Greek feeling remained, are yet executed with a care and finish so superior to the last of the Arsacidæ, as at once to mark what Silvester de Sacy has termed a *renaissance*. The Greek inscriptions were first replaced by letters resembling those of the Hebrews of the third century, but in the beginning of the seventh century they are identical with those found in Pehlvi MSS. The characters are, however, different in different provinces, even in the coins of the same king.

The silver coins of the Sassanidæ are of similar weight to those of the Arsacidæ; but the gold are always of the standard of the Roman Aureus,—which may be explained by the fact that the new dynasty copied the existing standard for the silver, but for the new coinage of gold (gold never

having been coined by the Arsacidæ) they adopted the Roman standard, Greek forms being at that period superseded to a great extent by Roman ones in the greater part of Asia.

Sassanian coins of various periods are found in India as far as Kabool, and other places in Affghanistan, in great numbers; few of them, however, being of the earliest princes of the dynasty. The obverse of the coins of Ardishir, the founder of this line of Persian princes, bear his portrait, and have the following inscription, in the national character of the period:—" *Mazdiesn bēh Artachetr malcan Arian*—" (the Adorer of Ormuzd, the Excellent Ardishir, King of the Kings of Persia.") The reverse has only *Artachetr iezda[n]i*,—"the Divine Ardishir). But the device which this inscription surmounts is the "speaking type" which rallied the whole Persian race round his standards: it is the flaming altar of the fire-worshippers. The small vessels at the base of the altar are supposed to be vases of perfume.

It will be observed that the portraits on most of the coins of this race wear, above the tiara, what appears to be a mass of drapery, of a circular, or rather, perhaps, of a pear-shaped form, similar to those of the fine rock-sculptures of this period, first described by Kerr Porter. Mr. Longperrier describes the circular mass of drapery as a *globe celeste*, an hypothesis borne out to some extent by the fact that in some cases it is spangled with stars; and it may in that case symbolise the Sassanidæ, the restorers of the ancient religion, as the supporters of heaven. The cap, or tiara, embroidered with three rows of pearls, generally considered the form of the antique Persic crown, was assumed by Ardishir, and appears on some of his earliest coins. (See Plate VI.)

Sapor, or Shapur I., (from A.D. 240 to 273.)—This prince was the son of the preceding, and his energy and abilities farther increased the power of the new empire. War broke out again with the Romans; a pitched battle was fought near Edessa, on the Euphrates, and the Romans, under the Emperor Valerianus, were completely defeated, Valerianus himself being carried captive into the heart of Persia, where he is supposed to have been put to a cruel death. All the Roman possessions in Asia now fell into the power of Sapor,

and but for the unexpected appearance in the field of Odenathus and Zenobia, from the deserts of Palmyra, would have been then lost for ever. It was in this reign that the doctrine of the celebrated Mavi spread rapidly in the east, which was an attempt to amalgamate the Christian and Zoroastrian religions; its followers suffering most sanguinary persecution both from Christians and fire-worshippers. Sapor issued an extensive gold coinage. The portraits on his coins have a large mass of flowing curly hair at the back of the head, and wear a rich tiara, surrounded by the globular ornament above described. The most common inscriptions are, "The Adorer of Ormuzd, the Excellent Sapor, King of the Kings of Irun, Celestial Germ of the Gods." On some of the coins he appears with the ancient Persic crown embroidered with pearls, previously described. The reverses have generally the fire-altar, guarded by two armed figures in the Persian costume, with loose trousers, all Greek character in the costume having disappeared. (See Plate VI.)

Hormuz, or Hormisdas I. (from A.D. 273 to 274), was the son of the preceding, and is described as an excellent prince.

Varhanes,* or Varavanes I. (from A.D. 274 to 277), the son of the preceding, carried on an unprofitable war against Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, by whose energy the power of Persia had received a severe check, and afterwards with the victorious Aurelian.

Varhanes II. (from A.D. 277 to 294) was the son of the preceding. Disputes with the Romans continued, and he was defeated, and Ctesiphon and Seleucia taken by the army under the Emperor Carus; but the death of this emperor prevented the further progress of the Romans. On the coinage of Varhanes II. he is represented wearing very singular head-dresses: sometimes a winged crown supporting the globe-like ornament; the portrait of his queen also appears upon his coins beneath his own portrait. She wears a rich head-dress, composed of an ornament in the form of a boar's head; while a third figure, that of a boy, is placed in front of the royal profile. The boy wears a cap, terminating in an ornament formed like the head

* This name is found in some histories, spelt as Bahrana, or Bahanes.

of an eagle, and is supposed to be Narnes, the son of Varhanes. The reverses have the fire-altar guarded by armed figures, like those on the coins of Sapor. Visconti finds a difficulty in allowing the second figure on this coin to be a queen, supposing that polygamy then prevailed in Persia as at present. But, previous to the overthrow of the Sassanian race of princes by the Mahomedans in the seventh century, it is evident that women of rank played a much more conspicuous part than under the influence of Islamism, as is proved by the successive reigns of the daughters of Chosroes II.

Vahranes III. (A.D. 294), eldest son of the preceding, died after a reign of eight months.

Narsi, or Narses (from A.D. 294 to 303), carried on a war against the Emperor Diocletian, which arose out of the long-disputed Armenian succession. The result of this war was the cession of Mesopotamia to the Romans, with the superiority over the kingdoms of Armenia and Iberia, and other concessions. Narses, though vanquished, was a man of remarkable talents; and it has been observed as a singular coincidence, that he, the vanquished, and Diocletian, the vanquisher, both became disgusted with absolute power, and retired to private life. Narses died soon after his abdication. There are good coins of this reign, of the general character of those previously described.

Hormuz II. (from A.D. 303 to 310) was the son of the preceding. Nothing remarkable occurred in his reign.

Sapor II. (from A.D. 310 to 381.)—This prince, the son of the preceding, was crowned before he was born, the Magi having announced that the widowed queen was about to become the mother of a male child. Cruel persecutions of the Persian and Armenian Christians took place in this reign; and the successful war against the Romans, carried through the reigns of Constantius, Julian, and Jovian, ended in the cession to the Persians of the five provinces beyond the Tigris, and several important fortresses; while the kingdoms of Iberia and Armenia, tributary to Rome, were left to their fate, and completely reduced by Sapor in A.D. 381. He received the surname of "the Great," and is doubtless one of the greatest of his race. His coins are numerous, and resemble in general character those already described.

Ardishir II. (from A. D. 381 to 385)—A prince of the blood, but not of the direct line, remained at peace with the Romans.

Sapor III. (from A. D. 385 to 390.)—Another prince of collateral descent; sought the alliance of Theodosius the Great, and restored the independence of Armenia and Iberia.

Varhanes II. (from A. D. 390 to 404), as stated on a rock-inscription at Kermanshah.

Yezdijird, or Jesdigerd I. (from A. D. 404 to 420) received the surname of "Alathim" (the sinner), and was a son or brother of the preceding. He is said to have signed a peace for a hundred years with the Emperor Arcadius, and was probably called "the sinner" on account of the toleration he extended to the Christians, until Abdas, bishop of Susa, wantonly destroyed a fine Persian temple, on which several persecutions of the Christians recommenced.

Varhanes V. (from A. D. 420 to 440) was a son of the preceding. His persecutions of the Christians drove thousands of his subjects to seek refuge within the Roman dominions, which led to the division of Armenia into Persian and Roman Armenia. Varhanes was more successful against the Huns, Turks, and Indians, and his exploits and adventures in those wars are celebrated by Persian writers.*

There are coins of all the reigns above named of the usual character.

The reigns of Yezdijird II. (from 448 to 456), Hormuz III. (from 458 to 484), and Palash (from A. D. 484 to 488), offer no events but Christian persecutions that require record here.

Kobad (from A. D. 488 to 498; and, after the usurpation of Jomaspes, from A. D. 501 to 531)—During this reign the great Persian victories over the armies of the eastern emperor, Anastasius, occurred; when peace, without sacrifice of Roman territory, was at length obtained by payment of eleven thousand pounds of gold. The Romans then constructed the famous fortress of Dora, opposite Ctesiphon, on the spot where the present road descends from the mountains of Mesopotamia to the plains of the south. Kobad constructed similar fortresses against the Huns, in the defiles of the Caucasus, now called *Demi kapu* ("the iron gates.")

* See Sir John Malcolm for many highly curious and interesting details.

The celebrated Belisarius was engaged in the wars of this reign. The Persian coins, except the name of the Prince, offer little variation.

Khosru I., or Chosroes (from A. D. 531 to 579), surnamed "Anushirwan" (the generous mind), was one of the greatest monarchs of the Sassanidan dynasty. His wars against the Romans were so successful that Justinian was compelled to purchase peace at the expense of a tribute of forty thousand pieces of gold paid annually. His dominions extended from the Indus to the Red Sea. He bestowed the greatest care on the rebuilding and repopling depopulated cities, and protected trade, agriculture, and learning, founding an academy at Gondi-Sapor, where he caused the best Greek and Latin authors to be translated into Persian. His coinage is not so remarkable as one might be led to expect from his evident protection and culture of the arts in general.

Hormuz V. (from A. D. 579 to 590).—The Romans, under Maurice, were successful in several great battles against the Persians; and Hormuz, after some successes against the Turks, was seized by the grandees of the kingdom, and sentenced to lose his sight as well as his throne. Buzorg, the chief minister in the two last reigns, introduced the study of Indian literature into Persia, and also the noble game of chess.

Varhanes VI. (from A. D. 590 to 591), Chosroes (from A. D. 591 to 628), and Shirweh, or Siroes (628, for a few months), were the last of the Sassanids.—Varhanes VI. was unable to resist the power of Chosroes II., supported by the arms of the emperor Maurice, but he is nevertheless considered one of the greatest heroes of the Persian poets and historians. Chosroes II. continued to live at Constantinople during the reign of Maurice, so that Persia was completely under the Græco-Roman influence. After the death of Maurice (assassinated by the usurper Phocas), Chosroes went to war to avenge the death of his benefactor; and so great was his success, that scarcely anything remained of the Roman empire in the east except the city of Constantinople—Syria, Palestine, and Egypt having all fallen under the Persian yoke. Opposite to the imperial city, at Chalcedon, the Persians maintained themselves during ten years; and it was not till 621 A. D., that the Emperor Heraclius changed the face of affairs, and saved the eastern empire; recovering

all the territories as rapidly as they had been lost. Chosroes, borne down by misfortune, was deposed and murdered by his son, Shirweh. Chosroes lived in greater magnificence during his prosperity than any former Persian monarch, and treated with disdain the summons of Mohammed to embrace the new doctrine. Shirweh reigned only eight months, but concluded a peace with Heraclias, restoring all prisoners made during the war, and also the holy cross, which had been carried away from Jerusalem by Chosroes. Ardishir, the infant son of Shirweh, was murdered a few days after the death of his father.

Touran Dokht, a daughter of the last Chosroes, now reigned a short time, and afterwards her lover and cousin. Agermi Dokht, another daughter of Chosroes, then held the supreme power, and she was followed by

Jesdigerd III., (from A.D. 632 to 651),—who was said to be a grandson of Chosroes. This prince, when summoned by the Caliph, Abu Bekr, to adopt the Mohammedan religion, refused: and in the wars which ensued, the second Persian empire was swept away in the tide of Moslem conquest, and Jesdigerd eventually perished in an attempt to regain his throne: his son Peroses entered the service of the emperor of China, and Persia became a province of the Mohammedan empire.

Towards the beginning of the sixth century of our era, the art displayed on the Sassanidan coinage begins sensibly to decline, and gets poorer and more barbarous upon the coins of each successive prince, with but little change in the character of the devices; the fire-altar being the constant type of the reverses. The coins of the celebrated Chosroes, however, are an exception; the art displayed on the Persian coinage seems to have been renovated: and there are coins of that prince having a full-face portrait which are far from contemptible; the reverse being as usual the fire-altar.

In the reigns of his daughters the coins sink again below their former barbarism, and without the aid of comparison with former coins, neither the former Persian head-dress nor the fire-altar with its attendant guards, could be distinguished. The inscriptions are, however, sufficiently legible, though very rude, to leave no doubt as to the correct attribution of the coins.

THE GREEK COINAGE OF BACTRIA AND NORTH-WESTERN INDIA.

This recently discovered series is especially interesting, as having been the means of recovering many facts concerning the history of a portion of Asia, which, during a long period, was lost in obscurity; and also as being the means of restoring at the same time a lost language—the inscriptions on some of the coins being bilingual, Greek on one side, and the Indian dialect of the region on the other; in the earlier period a dialect of Sanscrit, and afterwards the Arian language.

The whole of the vast countries from Bactria to the provinces bordering on Kabool and the Punjaub, were subdued and colonised in the great Greek invasion of Asia under Alexander; and most of them acknowledged the supremacy of Seleucus Nicator after he had established that Asiatic dominion generally termed the Syrian empire; Antiochia, the capital, which he created, being situated in that province. Even in the reign of the first Seleucus, a portion of the Punjaub was, after a short war, given up to a native prince, Chundra Goopta, the Sandracottus of classical history; and Diodotus satrap of Bactria in the reign of the Syrian monarch Antiochus II. (from about 261 to 242 B.C.), took the opportunity afforded by the occupation of the forces of that prince in distant wars, to declare his independence; while the secluded position of his usurped dominion, combined with the revolt of Parthia, which shortly followed, enabled him to secure permanently the independent sovereignty he had created. He has been generally known as Theodotus, later historians following Justin; but Strabo calls him Diodotus, and this form is confirmed by the inscription on a rare gold coin in the great French collection, where the same form is used. This coin has much of the character of the coins of the Seleucidan series, and is nearly equal to them in execution.

Diodotus II. (about 240 B.C.) appears to have succeeded his father in the sovereignty of Bactria, and all the countries occupied by the Greeks to the east of Parthia. Very little is known of this prince, and there are no means of dis-

tinguishing the coins, which some have attributed to him, from those of his father.

Euthydemus (220 to 190 B.C.) appears to have obtained possession of the Bactrian throne about 220 B.C., as is conjectured, by the expulsion of the younger Diodotus. From the few scattered passages of historians referring to this prince, it would seem that he greatly extended the region possessed by the two Diodotus', father and son; and so firmly was his dominion established, that he was enabled successfully to resist the attempt of Antiochus the Great to regain the lost provinces of Bactria. Silver coins of his reign are found in considerable numbers at Bokhara, Balkh, and other places of that region. They have, generally, a boldly though not finely executed head; and on the reverse a good figure of Hercules sitting on a lion-skin, and holding a club, with the inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΕΔΗΜΟΥ—the Greek characters already beginning to show corruptions, which eventually render them almost illegible in this series.

Demetrius (190 to about 181 B.C.) was, like his father, cotemporary with Antiochus the Great, whose daughter he married. His coins are more various than those of his predecessors, and on some he is represented wearing a head-dress formed of the skin of an elephant and the tusks, in the style of similar coins of Alexander the Great.

Eucratides (from about 181 to about 150 B.C.). This prince appears to have revolted from Demetrius while the latter was engaged in an Indian campaign; so that they may have reigned for some time contemporaneously, Eucratides in the north portion of the state, and Demetrius in the southern or Indian provinces. It appears probable, however, that Eucratides eventually held all the territories of former Græco-Bactrian princes, and even greatly extended them, in so much that he was styled "the lord of a thousand cities," and assumed the title of Great. He was eventually assassinated by his son. The abundance of his coins, still continually found on both sides of the Paropamisus, is an evidence of his power and wealth. On these coins he is generally represented wearing a peculiarly formed helmet; and on the reverse the Dioscuri are the most common type, with the inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ, "of the great king Eucratides," in good Greek characters. Some

of his coins are square, and some of these have the bilingual inscriptions before referred to, in which case the Greek inscription surrounds the portrait, and the Indian one is placed above and below the Dioscuri, on the reverse.

Antimachus, Heliocles, and Agathocles (about 180 to 150 B.C.), appear to have been Greek princes, holding independent dominion in some portion of those regions cotemporary with Eucratides; and coins have been discovered of each of them, very similar in style to those of Eucratides, those of Agathocles being, perhaps, of the best execution.

After the death of Eucratides and his cotemporaries above mentioned, another group of Greek princes appear, and the bilingual inscriptions found on some of the coins of that monarch, now become general. The eastern character is exhibited more and more on these interesting historic monuments, as the Greek spirit, separated by intervening barbarism, gradually declined; and we find such titles as "great King of Kings," &c., commonly adopted in the inscriptions.

From about 150 to 120 B.C., the names of Menander, Apollodotus, Diomedes, Zoilus, Hippostratus, Strator, Dionysius, Nicias, and Hermæus occur. Several, it is probable, were cotemporary princes of different districts. The coins of this group of princes are inferior in art to those of the former; and in the Arian inscription the title "Basileus," or king, is translated "Maharajasa," the term still in use in the north of India. The author of the "*Περιπλους Ποντου Εὐξείνου*," commonly ascribed to Arian, tells us that silver coins of Menander and Apollodotus, who appear to have been the most powerful among the last-mentioned princes, were still in circulation in his day; and in modern times, considerable numbers are found in countries south of the Hindoo Koosh, and as far east as Jumma.

At about the same period several other Greek princes appear to have reigned, as Antimachus, Antialcides, Lycias, Philoxenes, and Auryntus, bearing the title of ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ, "the Victorious," on their coins; and others, as Heliocles, and a queen, Agathocleia, bearing peaceful titles. Hermæus, a prince of whom some coins have reached us, and whose coins bear the portrait of his queen, Calliope, on the reverse, appears to have been the last of the race of

Greek princes in this region, which was subdued, about 120 B.C., by the Scythian, Azes.

Azes and Maues (from about 120 to 115 B.C.). These Scythian conquerors, who appear to have swept away the last vestige of Greek and Parthian power from Bactria and the Indian provinces, yet adopted the style of coinage which they found in use, just as, four centuries before, the Persian Darius Hystaspes copied the Greek coinage which he found in use in Asia Minor.

Maues and Azes were apparently cotemporary; but, for the sake of clearness, the coins of the former may be mentioned first, and separately. They exhibit a rapid transition towards barbarism, both in the style of art and that of the inscriptions. The latter are at first simply copied from the earliest Greco-Bactrian style, as simply ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ, "of the king Maues;" then ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ, "of the great or mighty king Maues;" lastly, he styles himself "great King of Kings," on coins similar to those of Azes.

The best-known coins of Azes represent the king holding a kind of three-pronged spear, resembling a trident, said to be a national Tartar weapon, and placing his foot on the shoulder of a fallen enemy. Nine varieties are known of the coins of Maues, and many more of Azes.

Azilises (about 115 to 90 B.C.) coined with similar titles to those of Azes and Maues.

Vonones, Spalirius, and Spalypius (from about 90 to 60 B.C.) are names occurring on coins which are placed in the Greco-Bactrian series. They, from the names, appear to have been Parthian princes, who recovered portions of Bactria from the rule of Scythian conquerors. Coins of another prince, styling himself "great Saviour King," without a name, are attributed to this period; and another set of Scythian coins, having no Arian translations of the inscriptions, occur about this time,—the Greek being scarcely decipherable, but the names of Kodes and Hykrodes have been distinctly made out.

The conquests of Vikramaditya occurred about this time; but no coins have been found which can with safety be attributed to him.

The Kadphises dynasty (from about 50 B.C. to 50 A.D.),

after occupying the chief power in northern India and Bactria for some time, issued a gold coinage, none other being known of the Bactrian and Indian series, except a few unique gold of the earliest Greek princes. Previous to the issue of this gold coinage, with its corresponding pieces of silver, the terms of Korso, Koranos, Zathos, and Kozoulo are found, which seem to be titles lower than royalty, while on the gold coinage, the Greek Basileus (king) is found, and its corresponding Arian title, Maharaja; which would seem to prove that at that epoch the power of the dynasty had greatly extended, and induced the chief to assume a title which he had not previously adopted. A Greek inscription surrounds the figure of the prince, styling him "King of Kings," &c., &c.; and on the reverse the Arian inscription reads, "MAHARAJASA RAJADHI RAJASA SABATRACHA, IACHA, MAHIHARASADHI MAKADPHISHASA NANDATA," which may be translated, "Of the Great Sovereign, King of Kings, everywhere seizing the earth, Dhima (or Vohima) the Saviour."

These coins display nothing of the Greek character of art except the inscription on the obverse, which is scarcely legible. The portrait of the king, instead of being a large, boldly-executed head, is, as in the case of some of the coins of Azes, a full figure, of barbaric execution. He wears the Tartar costume, and points to a pile of loaves of bread. On his right is the Tartar weapon resembling a trident; and on his left, beneath a curious monogram, also found on the coins of the earlier Greek princes, is the club of Hercules,—the only remaining symbol of the Greek mythology,—which on the reverse has entirely given way to emblems belonging to the Buddhist creed; where Siva and the Nandi bull are easily recognised. This introduction of Buddhist symbols had already commenced with the coinage of Azes. The coins of the whole dynasty bear the name of Kadphises, the founder, as in the Parthian series the name of the founder, Arsaces, is adopted by all subsequent princes; and this custom was doubtless copied from them by the less civilised Scythian princes, their neighbours.

Undophones, Gondophones, Abgasus, Abalgasus, and Pakores (from about 40 to 80 A.D.), are names apparently of Parthian princes, who appear to have possessed part of Afghanistan about this period. Pakores, however, whose

coins have been found at Kandahar, is not supposed to belong to the dynasty of Undophones.

Kanerkis and his dynasty (from about 100 to 200 A.D.).—The coins of this new race of Seythian princes of Bactria and India are very remarkable, as their inscriptions are in Greek only, the Arian legend being altogether abandoned. The Greek characters are, however, so debased as to be scarcely decipherable. The title assumed is generally ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ (BASILEUS BASILEŌN), "King of Kings," and the dynastic name of the founder, as on the coins of the Kadphises dynasty, &c., &c., on the whole series, ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ (KANÉRKOU), in the genitive case. In the latter coins of this dynasty the Greek title Basileus is abandoned, and the Indian Rano Nano Rao adopted in its stead, but still written in Greek characters. On a coin of this dynasty, struck as late as A.D. 200, the prince is represented riding on an elephant; and on the reverse is a Mithraic representation of the sun, the head of which, as well as that of the prince on the obverse, is surrounded by a kind of nimbus, or glory, similar to that given by the early Christians to their representations of the evangelists and apostles. This resumption of exclusively Greek inscriptions at this epoch, may probably be attributed to a certain renovation of the decaying Grecian influence, by the temporary rule of the Parthian dynasty of Gondophorus in a portion of these regions.

After this dynasty, the coins of Bactria and Northern India become altogether Asiatic in character, and lose all traces of Greek influence. They may, therefore, be considered to belong to modern history, as they are thus more internally connected with the modern than the ancient series, which latter may be considered to terminate with the total disuse of Greek inscriptions.

I shall not attempt to trace the progress of the modern Asiatic coinages, which would carry me far beyond the limits of this work; and I shall, therefore, in reference to modern coins, be compelled to confine myself to the English series, which will very completely illustrate the progress of the art after the fall of the Roman Empire.

The greater number of facts connected with the Bactrian series described in this chapter are of quite recent discovery.

Sir Alexander Burnes, after his mission to Kabool, was one of the first to call attention to these interesting remains (or rather consequences) of the conquests of Alexander the Great, which still abound in that region of Asia; while the greater number of coins have been discovered in the tombs recently explored by M. Court and General Allard. The works of Lassen, Prinsep, and Wilson will be found to contain all the most recent information on the subject.

CHAPTER XIV.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF PONTUS AND THE CIMMERIAN BOSPHORUS.

THE coins of the Princes of Pontus, and the Cimmerian Bosphorus, have been united in one series, in consequence of the late kings of Pontus having possessed also the Bosphorus; and, eventually, lost the former, and succeeded to the latter, which remained independent, though not under the same race, throughout nearly the whole period of the Roman empire. The Bosphorus was a very much more ancient state than Pontus, and its foundation belongs to the most ancient periods of history. No coins, however, are known previous to those of Leucon.

Dates are frequently found on the coins of the Pontic series, which refer to those distant eras. The era of Pontus, from which some of the coins are dated, corresponds to 301 B.C., which is used till the reign of Polemon I.; the Cæsarean era is employed by Polemon II., and the Queen Pythodoris; and the eras of the reign of Asandre and Polemon II., are found only on the coins of those princes.

The coins of Leucon, who reigned from 393 to 353 B.C., bear a head of Hercules—in the style of the tetradrachm of Alexander the Great,—and on the reverse a club and a bow, with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ(Σ) ΛΕΥΚΩΝ(ΟΥ).

The next coins known, are some of Perisades, who reigned in the year 289 B.C. The one before me is a gold coin, a fine imitation of the gold stater of Lysimachus, but with

the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΑΠΙΣΑΙΔΟΥ; it has also the letters ΠΑΝ for Panticape, the capital of the Leuconidean princes.

Perisades,—unable to resist the inroads of the barbaric tribes, who now began to press upon the eastern portions of Europe, and western Asia,—gave up his kingdom to Mithridates VI. (the Great), king of Pontus.

The kingdom of Pontus, as is well known, was not established till the conquest of Persia by Alexander, when Mithridates II., was hereditary satrap of this portion of the Persian empire. No coins are attributed to the satrap Mithridates II.

Mithridates III. (from 302 to 266 B.C.). The coins of this prince, who was of the royal family of Persia, bear secondary types of the crescent moon and of the sun, symbolic—like the Persian name *Mithridates*—of the origin of the kings of Pontus: the reverse of this tetradrachm is a copy of those of Alexander.

Mithridates IV., Pharnaces I., and Mithridates V., next occupy the throne of Pontus; to the two latter of which, magnificent gold decadrachms were attributed, which are now considered forgeries, but not upon grounds altogether satisfactory, as they bear great marks of genuineness; yet, as Mionnet and other great authorities have condemned them, I must pass to the coins of Mithridates VI. (the Great) from 123 to 63 B.C., the celebrated rival of the Romans.

The stag, the flying horse, and the bull, found on coins of this king, and termed his guardians, are all animals connected with the religion of Mithra and Ormuzd. One of the coins of Mithridates is engraved in Plate VI.

There are coins of Pharnaces II., from 63 to 47 B.C.,—son of the great Mithridates,—on which he terms himself “King of Kings,” and sometimes great king of kings, perhaps after his re-conquest of Pontus: he was defeated by Cæsar, and perished in a battle with his revolted general, Asander.

Asander first styled himself Governor of the Bosphorus, but on late coins he assumes the name of king.

At the death of Asander and his son Darius, who had been acknowledged by Marc Antony, Polemon I., originally an adventurer (from 37 to 14 B.C.) was placed on the throne, by Antony, and eventually acknowledged by Augustus. To strengthen his claims he first married the daughter of

Pharnaces II. (Dynamis), who had before been married to the usurper. She died, leaving no children, and he then married Pythodoris. After resisting with success the attacks of the Aspurgitans, he was eventually taken prisoner and put to death by them. His widow still opposed them with spirit; and, though driven out of the Bosphorus, still preserved Pontus.

The coins of Polemon I. have the head of Polemon on one side, and that of Augustus on the other. There are also coins of his widow, with the head of Tiberius on the obverse, and ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΠΥΘΟΔΩΡΚΕΤΟΥΣ, (A.D. 60), and a pair of scales on the reverse.

Polemon II. died about A.D. 37. On coins of this prince his queen Tryphene appears,—a personage not mentioned in history.

In the reigns of Claudius and Caligula many changes and new arrangements of territory took place, in which Polemon II. was eventually set aside altogether. Polemon married, secondly, the celebrated Berenice, from whom he was soon separated.

Pontus had now become part of the Roman empire; but the Bosphorus was conquered from the last branches of the Pontic family by the Aspurgitans.

Rhescuporis I., and Sauromates I., are two princes of the Aspurgitans, whose coins now appear in the series of those of the Bosphorus. Those of Sauromates have the inscription, ΣΑΥΡΩΜΑΤΟΥ, with the title of king; and on the reverse the head of a queen, Pepæpiris. Those of Rhescuporis I. have his name (abbreviated, round the head on the obverse), and on the reverse the head of Caligula, with the legend, ΓΑΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ, (Caius Cæsar,) the name of *Caligula* not occurring on coins.

It would be impossible to condense even a brief view of the revolutions of the Bosphorus from Polemon II. to Rhescuporis III. In the space I can here assign to the subject, it must suffice to state that the first Aspurgitan princes are stated to have held power for the following periods: Rhescuporis I., uncertain; Sauromates I., from A.D. 6 to A.D. 17; Rhescuporis II., from A.D. 17 to A.D. 34; Rhescuporis III., from A.D. 34 to A.D. 47; and that Mithridates, a personage pretending to be a descendant of Mithridates the Great, was

put forward by Claudius, and reigned in parts of the country from A.D. 41 to A.D. 46. In the meantime, his brother, Cotys, by assuming on his coin the national name of the Aspurgitans, and having also procured the protection of the Romans, secured to himself a long reign, and appears to have been more powerful and wealthy than his predecessors, as we find him issuing a gold coinage, the first of the remarkable series of gold coins of this dynasty.

Cotys I. (from A.D. 46 to A.D. 69.)—On the coins of the predecessors of Cotys, a portrait of a Roman emperor had been placed on one side of the national coin,* but Cotys was not content with this degree of adulation, and placed an effigy of the emperors of Rome on each side of his—generally his first protector, Claudius, on one side, and the reigning emperor on the other, down to Vitellius; his own personal share in the types of his coinage being confined to a monogram, principally formed of BA . K for BA (ασλεως) K (οτυς) “of the king Cotys.” Many of his coins have the names of the various emperors and empresses found on them, inscribed round the bust, in Greek, as on that of Nero, ΝΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ†—“of the Emperor Nero Claudius Cæsar;” and on the reverse, round the portrait of Poppeia, ΠΟΠΕΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΟΥ—“of Poppeia Augusta.” These coins are small bronze. On following coins, however, an inscription accompanies either the portrait of Vitellius, or that of his son on the reverse; but the latter has the monogram of Cotys below it, and the date ΕΕΤ (365). The date of the death of Cotys is uncertain; but none of his coins bear the portraits of later emperors than Vespasian, while those attributed to Rhescuporis IV., bear the portrait of Domitian, but the time of his accession is unknown.

Rhescuporis IV. (reigning in A.D. 84) restored the line of the native Aspurgitan or Sarmatian princes. The coins of this prince are the first in which the final mode of arranging the types seems to have been settled, which continued afterwards through the whole of the series, namely, the head of the native prince on the obverse, accompanied by his name and

* Some suppose that no national portrait appears on this series till Rhescuporis.

† The square sigma C being used instead of Σ, common at that period.

title, and that of the reigning Roman emperor on the reverse, with the date. The portrait of Rhescuporis IV. is by some thought the first portrait of this line of princes, the former ones, or those thought to be so, wearing short hair after the Roman fashion; while in the present instance the hair flows over the shoulders after the manner of the barbarians. The inscription is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΡΗΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ—"of the king Rhescuporis;" and, beneath the head of the Roman emperor, Domitian, on the reverse, is the date ΠΤ (380) of the era of the Bosphorus.

Sauromates II. reigned contemporaneously with Trajan and Hadrian; the earliest dates on his coins are nine years after the last of Rhescuporis IV., and the latest, six years before the earliest of Cotys II. The coins of Sauromates II. are more commonly bronze.

Cotys II. (cotemporary of Hadrian) issued some very neatly executed gold coins, similar in style to those of his predecessor of the same name; all bearing the date 426 of the Bosphorus.

Rhemetalces, a cotemporary of Hadrian and Antonius, is thought to have been a brother of Cotys II., and son of Sauromates II., and to have reigned some time in conjunction with his brother. The first date on his coins is 428; the last 452 (A.D. 154); many are gold.

Eupator, a cotemporary of Marcus Aurelius. His coins have the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΥ (of the king Eupator), and, from the name, he is supposed to have been a descendant, or pretended descendant, of the old Pontic line; and he made several attempts to obtain possession of the throne in the two previous reigns. His first dates are 452, and his last, 467. An interesting specimen of his coins, is the one bearing on the reverse the profiles of the emperors M. Aurelius and L. Verus, face to face, with the date ΑΞΤ (461).

The examples already described, will convey a pretty accurate idea of the nature and style of this series. I must, therefore, now confine myself to giving a list of all the remaining princes, of whom coins are known.

Sauromates III., from M. Aurelius to Septimus Severus.

Rhescuporis IV. or V., cotemporary with the emperors Caracalla to A. Severus, on reverses.

Cotys III., cotemporary with Alexander Severus.

Sauromates IV., from 526 to 529: date of the Bosphorus.

Inithimeus, from 531 to 535.

Rhescuporis VI., from 521 to 549.

Pharauses, cotemporary with Emilianus and Valerianus.

Rhescuporis VII., from 552 to 564: date of the Bosphorus.

Sauromates V., cotemporary of Tacitus or Probus.

Twanis, cotemporary of Probus.

Thothorses, (575 to 600) cotemporary of Diocletian.

Rhadamses, (605 to 616) cotemporary of Constantine the Great.

Rhescuporis VIII., from 610 to 616, cotemporary of Constantine the Great, who appears to have shared the crown with Rhadamses during six years.

We learn that the last sovereign of the Bosphorus, of the line I have been treating of, perished in single combat with Pharnaces, chief of the Chevronites; and the kingdom of the Bosphorus passed under the sway of that people, of whom no coins are known. Thus ended the independence of the Bosphorus, which had existed for eight centuries, reckoning from the earliest reigns (about 480 B.C.) to about the year 330 of our era. This series of coins has furnished a most important succession of dates, the more valuable and authentic, as they are accompanied by portraits of Roman emperors, serving to test their accuracy. The art of this series of coins declines greatly towards its close, as will be seen by the examination of any well-furnished cabinet. The gold coins disappear after Cotys III., when a few silver appear, which are succeeded by rude small bronze. The one of Inithimeus represents the profile of that prince facing that of the goddess Astarte, as some have supposed; but, as it is a turreted head, after the manner in which Greek towns were personified, it may be the city of Constantinople, which is the more probable, as no Roman type appears on the reverse in this case, which is occupied by a figure, also described as Astarte; but these are mere conjectures. That of the last prince, Rhescuporis VIII., is more barbarous still; it has an attempt to represent the king's portrait, with the Paludamentum, and the inscription is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩC (ρησχω) ΠΟΡΙC; while on the reverse is the head of Constantine the Great, with a radiated crown, and the date IX (614) and Λ and ρ in the field, the import of which is unknown.

CHAPTER XV.

COINS OF INDEPENDENT PRINCES IN GAUL, BRITAIN, AND SPAIN,
PREVIOUS TO THE CONQUEST BY THE ROMANS.

GAUL.

THE southern portion of Gaul became subject to Grecian influence at a very early period, by the settlement of a Phocæan colony, who founded the celebrated city anciently called Massilia, now Marseilles.

The earliest coin attributed to this Gallo-Grecian city is a small silver piece, bearing the mark of great antiquity in the rude hollow punch-mark at the back, while the obverse bears the original type of the Phocæans—the *phoca*, or seal.

But it is not with the coins of the Greeks themselves that I have to do in this chapter, but with those of the Gauls, as influenced first by the Greek and then by the Roman arts of civilisation.

The progress of the coinage of a single city will serve to explain the march of monetary transition better than an attempt at a general classification, which, in the excessively limited space which could be here assigned to it, would, in fact, be impracticable.

The city of Nemausus (the present Nîmes) will perhaps suit the purpose better than any other. The fabulous history of this ancient city ascribes its foundation to Hercules, from whose son, Nemausus, it received its name. Hercules is said, in his western voyages to have landed in Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone, and to have been opposed by Ligur and Albion, sons of Neptune, from the former of which names the Gallic tribe of this district took the name of Ligurians. Hercules, having exhausted all his arrows, was about being overcome by the native chiefs, when Jupiter sent a shower of stones, by which his enemies were dispersed. This conflict is said to have taken place in a valley known as the valley *de la Crau**

* A plain situate between Oale and the sea ; the term *Crau* is in Celtic a stone.

—a place still strewn over with round boulders of various sizes. “If,” says M. La Saussaye, “we substitute for this ingenious fable the simple fact of a landing of Phœnicians, with the intention of establishing a colony, who, after they had exhausted other means of attack, resorted to the plentiful supply of stone ammunition which the locality afforded, we shall probably be near the real manner of the first establishment of a more civilised race in this region.”

The earliest coins of Nemausus, no doubt executed by means of Grecian or Phœnician artists, have a head of the hero Nemausus, after the manner of that of Byzas on the coins of Byzantium, and, on the reverse, a figure of one of the Dioscuri.

At a later period, as Phœnician and Greek influence declined, we find coins that may be considered native,* which have the ancient Gallic symbol of the wild boar for principal type, and the inscription *NAMAZAT*, and in the exergue, *ΣAT*, the name, perhaps, of a magistrate or priest, and on the other side the head of Apollo.

After this period the next marked change occurs after the campaigns of Cæsar, when we find a head of Pallas on the coins of this place, and, on the reverse, the letters *NEM-COL*, in Roman characters, intimating that it had become a Roman colony. Beyond this period, the coinage belongs to the Roman period, when it will be again referred to.

But the Grecian influence had been reaching Gaul in another direction, at a later period, by the north of Macedonia and along the feet of the Alps. Macedonian and other Greek money reached Gaul at an early period by this route, and the rude copies of Grecian coinage executed in these districts attest the fact. The copies of the gold staters of Philip would alone furnish a curious suite, reaching, as they do, from tolerable rough imitations, down to the most barbaric and distant likeness to the originals that can be conceived. Copies of the tetradrachms of Alexander the Great were also struck in great numbers; and the head thus imitated, found its way to Jersey and to the coinage of Britain, where still more barbarous imitations are to be found. On comparing such coins with tetradrachms of Alex-

* These are termed Greek by M. La Saussaye.

ander the Great (Pl. VI.), the resemblance may be easily traced. But in some places, within the influence of the Greek city of Massilia, a few strictly Gallic coins are known, which are, nevertheless, well executed; as an example of which, I may cite one with the portrait and attributes of the Druid Abaris. But shortly previous to the Roman invasion of Cæsar, the chiefs of different Gallic tribes appear to have copied the manner of Greek princes in striking coins with their own portraits, and coins are known bearing the portrait of the chief who is called by Cæsar "Epaspactus," but which, as written on the coins, should be "Epadnactus." We have also coins of the brave but unfortunate Vercingetorix, and several others.

The coins of the two above-mentioned chiefs, convey an idea of the style of the others. That of Vercingetorix has the inscription INCETORIXS, and is of a debased Grecian style of art; while that of Epadnactus is much more Roman in style, especially the reverse.

Among other Gaulish coins of chiefs or kings, are those of Vergasillaunus (chief), Adictuanus (king), Litovicus (chief), &c.

Gaulish coins of towns and cities also exist in some number and variety; those of Rhotomagus, now Rouen, for instance, which have a female head on the obverse, sometimes with the inscription SVTICOS, and on the reverse, two horses coupled, and the inscription RATVMACOS. Of Tornacum, now Tournaye, there are coins which have a beardless head, wearing a helmet, on the obverse, with DURNACOS; and on the reverse, a spear, and, AUSCRO. Of Calletes, the chief town of a people inhabiting the north bank of the Seine, now called the *Pays de Caux*, the coins have on the obverse a copy of the Consular Roman quinarius, and are about its size and weight, though they bear the numeral X, expressing the value of the denarius; on the reverse is a horse galloping, with the legend, in Greek characters, ΚΑΛΛΕΤΕΔΟΥ—of the Calleteans. The singular mixture of Roman and Greek characteristics in this coin, is one of the peculiarities of Gaulish coins. The Celtic was a spoken, and not a written language; and when it was found necessary to inscribe legends on coins, the Roman and Greek characters were

adopted indifferently, and strange mixtures of the two occasionally occur. On the oldest coins the Greek predominates; but as the epoch when an original coinage began to be issued in Gaul was not long before the Roman conquest, and after the splendour of Greek civilisation had given way before the legions of Rome, in Asia as well as in Europe, it is easy to conceive that the Roman influence would predominate.

A coin of the Auberici—Eburovices—whose chief town was Evreux, will serve to exhibit the barbarous style of some of these Gaulish coins.

The principal type is the ancient Gaulish symbol—the wild boar—by some supposed to be trampling on a standard, perhaps to record some successful resistance to the power of Rome. The inscription is EBVR.

THE NATIVE COINS OF SPAIN.

Spain, like Gaul, was early colonised by the Greeks; and there are beautiful coins of the Greek colonisers of the Spanish Peninsula, but not equal to those of other places. The Carthaginian colony of Gades (Cadiz), was also the means of spreading civilisation among the native Spanish people of different tribes; and of this union of Greek and Phœnician civilisation, acting simultaneously upon the development of this people, we find a remarkable monument in the Celtiberian alphabets, which offer singular combinations of the Phœnician and Greek characters, probably intermixed at the same time with some native elements. The inscriptions on the autonomous coins of Spain in several distinct dialects and alphabets, have consequently been but imperfectly deciphered. The confusion of alphabets in Spain was, indeed, noticed even by Strabo; and we have less means at our command now, most certainly, than had the learned Roman. The Iberians claimed very high antiquity for their written language, which, there is reason to believe, had its origin in Bætica. That it came originally from the East, appears certain, as the legends on some coins read from right to left, with the vowels suppressed, a certain indication of eastern origin; and that it was brought to them at an early period by the Phœnicians, long before the Carthaginian

colonies, appears equally probable. The modern Basque is evidently a remnant of the Celtiberian language, which was eventually formed by the amalgamation of Phœnician and Greek elements with its own, and the native races driven gradually into the mountains of the north of Spain, preserved their ancient language; just as the Welsh have preserved the ancient British. A remarkable affinity has been, consequently, here observed between many Basque words and the inscriptions on Celtiberian coins; and through that means Guilleaume Von Humboldt conceived that the only safe interpretations can take place. One peculiarity of some of the inscriptions is, instead of being in the genitive, as on Greek coins, or in the nominative, as on Roman money, they appear to be in the ablative, ending in *es* or *as*—as in the modern Basque, in which language, *Bayonas* expresses, *by* Bayonne; *Guizonas*, *by* the man. As examples, the following may be cited:—the characters are read as *Irsones*, which, it appears, expresses (money struck by) *BY* Irson; or, the characters reading as, *Bursabes*, which, according to the same principle, is—(money struck) *BY* Bursaba, or, by the *people of* Bursaba.

M. de Sauley gives translations of many legends, among which the following may serve as examples; and though the respective sounds and values of the Celtiberian must be regarded as far from being yet fully explained, yet there is no doubt that many legends have been properly interpreted, and the correct distribution of the various conflicting characters to the different distinct dialects to which they probably belong, will possibly be the means of finally settling the question.

The following are, as I have said, a few examples of interpretation generally felt to be correct, showing the manner in which the vowels are occasionally suppressed in the Oriental manner: for instance, in *Ileosken* (*Ileosca*) the *e* of the last syllable being omitted, as it is in the genitive case, signifies (money of) the *Ileoscans*, or of *Ileosca*. The characters read as *Ilibereken*, and those read as *Iliberineken*, are examples, in which other vowels are suppressed in a similar manner; and the correct interpretation of these synonymous names appears borne out by the names given by Pliny, which he describes as

“*Eliberi quod Liberini;*” * and Pliny, as M. de Sauley observes, and proves by a long list compared with coins, has given the names of the Spanish towns more correctly than any other ancient author.

The antiquity of the bulk of Spanish coins with inscriptions in the different dialects of the Celtiberian language, does not seem to be greater than about two centuries before the Christian era, if so old. Those coins with Punic or Greek inscriptions, are more ancient, but they may be considered rather as belonging to Greek or Carthaginian colonies than to Spanish races; † and, as such, resemble too closely those of other Greek colonies to require notice here.

But the Roman influence, after the war with Carthage and the invasion of her Spanish colonies, became predominant in Spain, and the weights and types of the great bulk of the Celtiberian coins, both silver and copper, are evidently modelled on the Roman; the silver being varied copies of the consular Denarius, and the copper of the parts of the As, as in the Græco-Italic cities when subjected to Rome. Some, however, near the Greek Emporia, or Rhoda, are Greek, with Greek inscriptions, as those near the Carthaginian city of Gades, now Cadiz, have generally Punic inscriptions. ‡

The silver coin of Iliberis (the *Ἰλλίβερυς* of Ptolemy) § of which the translation has just been given, is evidently modelled upon the consular Denarius of the Romans. The head, however, represents a native chief, and the DioscURI have become native warriors.

As the Roman power became settled over the whole country, the head of the Roman emperor is, after the time of Augustus, placed upon the Spanish coinage, of which the copper coins of the city of Bilbilis may be cited as example. After the time of Caligula, even the degree of nationality thus remaining was swept away, and the coinage of Rome alone circulated in Spain, with the exception of the few favoured cities which were made Roman colonies, and which

* Lib. iii. cap. i.

† Though they were doubtless imitated by neighbouring inland communities—such imitations being the *rude* coins with Greek types and Greek or Punic inscriptions.

‡ See Roman coinage and coinage of Magna Græcia.

§ Situate on a hill near Grenada, called Sierra de Elvira.

preserved the right of striking their own money, the description of which belongs to the Roman series, under the head of Roman colonial coins.

It will at once be evident to the student that to facilitate certain interpretations in Celtiberian inscriptions, such distinct characters as those corresponding to the vowel O and the consonant R, are made homophonous; while such discrepancy could not exist if the true value of all the characters were fully ascertained.*

COINS OF BRITAIN PREVIOUS TO THE DOMINATION OF THE ROMANS.

(See Plate of English Coins.)

At what period the Britons began to make use of coins is a point involved in great obscurity; for no Grecian colonies ever planted themselves on the shores of Britain to mark an epoch, and bring with them the knowledge of the use of a national coinage as a medium of exchange instead of barter, as they did on the shores of France and Spain.

The Phœnicians are known, however, to have traded with Britain, and through them, though no *early* Phœnician coinage is known, they may have learned the art so practised by the Greeks.

Very rude coins of tin, the metal for which the island was celebrated in early times, are occasionally found, which, although the state of their fabric, rude as it is, does not belong to the earliest epoch of the art, when one side only received an impression, yet might be assigned to the fourth century B.C. This is, however, quite conjectural, as these rude coins have never as yet received the accurate attention of numismatists. It is certain, however, that they belong to a totally different class, both as to weight, value, and types, from those generally assigned to about the period of Cæsar's invasion.

As far as my own experience goes, there is another class of British coins which may with tolerable certainty be assigned to a period considerably earlier than the invasion

* See Celtiberian Alphabet in Appendix.

of Cæsar. These are the coins without the name of any British city or prince, and which are evidently debased copies of the Macedonian coinages of Philip and Alexander, —the head of Apollo on the Philips, and the biga on the reverse, being easily traceable on the one; and the head of Alexander (or Hercules), wearing the lion-skin, on the other. The monetary issues, both of Philip and his son, Alexander, are known to have spread widely into barbarous nations, and copies of every degree of successive rudeness are found from many bad imitations to almost indistinguishable ones. Imitations of the Alexandrian type are very common in France, and have been found also in Jersey, and more rarely in Britain; but imitations of the biga type of the Philips are abundant in England. These coins have neither been collected nor described with the same accuracy and frequency as coins bearing the names of British princes, and as they thus do not play a conspicuous part in scientific works on the subject, they have been proportionately neglected by ordinary collectors. These British coins, as also those dating after the invasion of Cæsar, are generally much thicker in their proportion than the Greek coinage of the period of Philip and Alexander, which would tend to the supposition that the Britons had previously imitated Greek coins of the earlier epochs, when they were of thick proportion, like the British just described, the originals of which, like those of the late style, came to them through Gaul. If this was the case, we can imagine that they only changed their types at the later period, preserving the ancient mode of fabric as adjusted perhaps to a special and convenient standard. If this theory be true, it will account for the thick lumpish form of the British coins just alluded to.

The passage of Cæsar, relating to the coinage he found in circulation, is of doubtful import.

All the earliest coins, with names of British cities or princes, may be safely attributed to the period between the invasion of Cæsar and the complete subjugation of the island by Claudius. The adoption of the Roman alphabet for the inscriptions, and the Latinised forms of the native names of towns and princes being evidence of direct Roman influence. The native princes, after the Roman invasion, appear almost immediately to have commenced striking

money, bearing the names of cities and chiefs, after the manner of Gaul and Spain; and of British coins of this class a considerable variety exists.

Cæsar distinctly states, that the portion of the island which he calls Cantium (Kent), was ruled by petty kings, by four of whom he was attacked on his first landing. He also speaks of Comius, a prince of the Atrebrates, as a chief of considerable influence. Coins, bearing the inscription EPPILLVS COMI·F, TINC CMOI·F and VIR COM·F are, therefore, considered to have been struck by children of the Comius mentioned by Cæsar; that is supposing the inscription to be intended to read—EPPILLVS COMI(i) F(ilius).

The coins of Eppillus have generally a horseman on the side with the name; and sometimes, on the reverse, a Victory, recopied, no doubt, from already existing copies of the staters of Alexander.

On other coins, of a similar class, the names of Segonax, one of the four kings who attacked Cæsar's naval camp—and Calle, occur, with the title of Rex.

Of the same class, are coins bearing the names Camulodunum, the modern Colchester; and Verlamium (the Verulamium of the Romans), the site of the modern St. Albans. The latter have the inscription VERLAMIO, in the compartments of a geometrical ornament, possibly in the ablative case, after the manner of Celtiberian coins of the period, expressing, *by* Verlamium, by which was understood, money struck by the community of Verlamium. On the obverse is a cow, without inscription, in all the simplicity of an ancient Greek type. Those of Colchester have an ear of wheat for type, and CAMV on the reverse; and on the obverse, a horse, &c., with CVN, the initial letters of the name of Cunobelin.

The most numerous British coins of this class, are those bearing the name of Cunobelinus, the Cymbeline of Shakespeare, who is stated by Geoffrey of Monmouth, to have been educated at Rome, and whose coins are generally of a very superior class, and bear strong marks of Roman influence.

This name is frequently accompanied by one appearing to be Tasciovanus, and which is sometimes accompanied by F. Mr. Birch, of the British Museum, has interpreted one of

these inscriptions as Tasciovan(i) Filius,—the son of Tasciovanus,—as on the coins of Augustus that sovereign describes himself as the son of Julius Cæsar, by whom he had been adopted. There is an extraordinary variety of types upon British coins, bearing the names of Cunobelinus, some of which are fairly executed. One well-known variety has on the obverse a bust wearing a helmet, and the inscription CVNOBELINVS in full; on the reverse, TASCIOVANI. F., above a wild boar. It has been considered somewhat extraordinary that the name of Tasciovanus, so frequently found on British coins, should not be anywhere mentioned by historians. But it appears possible, that his name—if it be indeed that of a chief—ought to be sought among the petty sovereigns of Gaul rather than Britain, as the wild boar is a strictly Gallic type of high antiquity; and it is well known that many British chiefs, who became powerful, were of immediate Gallic descent—of which King Arthur, is a later example.

There are coins,—of similar fabric, but of a somewhat later period, which from the inscription BODVOS, &c.,—have been attributed to Boadicea. These exist both in gold and silver; indeed, many of the British coins above alluded to are found in gold, electrum, silver, and copper.

The subsequent progress of the coinage of Britain, belongs first to the Roman period, and then to modern history, both of which epochs will be noticed in chronological order.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE MODERN AND ANCIENT TERMS FOR MONEY OR COIN. OF AUTONOMOUS, REGAL, AND GENERAL COIN, AND OF THE WEIGHTS, MONETARY NAMES, VALUES, AND METALS OF GREEK COINS; AND ALSO THEIR POPULAR NAMES, AND WHENCE DERIVED.

MODERN AND ANCIENT MONEY.

THE modern term *coin* is derived from the Latin *cuneus*, a wedge or punch, by means of which the type was impressed upon the coin. But we have received the term more immediately from the old French *coigne*, a corruption of *cuneus*, the same instrument as that used by the ancients having remained in use till the operation of *hammering* was discontinued in consequence of the adoption of the screw press, supposed to have been first introduced in France by Nicholas Brot, in the reign of Louis XIII. about 1620 or 30.

The term money (*moneta*) was in use among the Romans, with the same meaning as it bears among modern nations—and originated, as is well known, from the circumstance of the Roman standards of weight, measure, and money, being preserved in the temple of Juno Moneta. But this term belongs to the Roman monetary terms rather than the Greek. It will therefore be alluded to in greater detail in the article on the weights, names, and values of Roman money.

Our term numismatics, numismatography, &c. &c., by which the science of the study of coins is known, we also receive from the Romans, it being formed of the later term *nummus*, or *numus*, money; but the Romans received it from the Greeks, the original Greek word being *nomos*, (νόμος) law, of which the more common Greek term, *nomisma*,* (νομισμα) a piece of money, is formed, a name expressing that the

* Aristotle in defining *νομισμα*, traces its origin to the necessity felt of obviating the inconvenience of direct barter.

weight, purity, and value of the coins were determined and guaranteed by law. The term *χρηματα* (chremata) was also used to express money, or property, by the Greeks, in proof of which the following passage is cited by Eckhel from Pindar—

Χρηματα, χρηματ', ἀνερ,

(Money, money, O man !)

The term *χρηματα* is no doubt derived from *χρημα* (chrema) a thing necessary or useful, money being the means of *procuring* all things useful, just as *χρηία* expresses the *want* of necessaries, and as *χρηματα*, applied to money, expresses property, or possession, as the opposite to poverty.

I may mention here, though I shall have to recur to the same subject again, under the head of silver money of the Greeks, &c., that among the European Greeks (especially the Athenians) money was also known as *ἀργύριον* from *αργυρος* (silver) just as *argent* expresses money with the modern French; and *silver* and *money* were also synonymous terms with the Hebrew people, a denomination which it will easily be conceived arose in both cases from the circumstance that silver formed the great bulk of the currency in those countries, and in fact the Athenians never coined gold till a very late period, and then in such small quantities, that a gold coin of Athens is one of the greatest numismatic rarities; while the Jews, who did not *coin* money of any description till a very late period, never coined gold at all; so that Shakspeare proved himself but an imperfect archæologist when he spoke of “shekels of the tested gold,” the Jewish shekels being all of silver. On the other hand, in Italy, where the original money was copper, the word *ÆS* expressed both money, and copper, or rather bronze.

GREEK COINS DIVIDED INTO THREE CLASSES.

Greek coins, independent of their various weights, metals, values, and denominations, may be divided into three classes.

1st. **AUTONOMOUS** coins are such as were issued by nearly every free city of the slightest importance according

to its own laws, as the name imports. After the subjugation by Rome, the few favoured cities which were allowed still to coin money, used the term *autonomous* upon their coins, to express their possession of this privilege, but it is never found on early coins.

2nd. REGAL coins are such as were issued by sovereigns, and which passed current throughout the state in common with the special coinage of each particular city.

3rd. GENERAL coins, which are such as were coined by the general government of a state to circulate throughout its full extent, and which bear the name of the state only, and not that of any city; such coins were issued even in monarchic states, and bear only the national name, and not that of the sovereign. Those of Epirus of this class are very fine.

THE WEIGHTS, DENOMINATIONS, &C., OF GREEK GOLD COINS.

That gold was first coined into money in Lydia, or among the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, previous to the existence of a silver coinage in European Greece, appears the most probable conjecture, after the comparison of a variety of somewhat conflicting authorities; and the period of the first use of coined money occurred, as previously stated, not long after the time of Homer, probably near the commencement or middle of the eighth century B. C.

The weight of the earliest gold coins known has formed a kind of model standard, or trunk, from which all subsequent coinages have branched out. The original unit was the stater—the term implying a standard, doubtless a well-known and generally accepted *weight*, by which gold had previously passed in barter, and by *weight*, before it was stamped as coin,—a process which Aristotle clearly states was adopted to save the trouble of continual weighing.

Homer, in referring to values of gold, speaks of the *ταλαντον* (talanton), a term originally derived from a generic term for weight, which meant a pair of scales, as well as a definite weight; but the term in Homer does not appear to correspond with the later *talent* as described by more recent authors. The stater was equal in weight to two drachmæ of silver, and of the value of twenty; and the following table

will enable the reader to understand the relative weight of the stater, the drachma, &c., according to the Athenian standard:—

1 Talent	contained	60 Minæ
1 Mina	„	100 Drachmæ
1 Drachma	„	6 Oboli.*

So that a talent contained 6000 drachmæ, and when a talent of gold is spoken of, the term refers to the *weight*, not the value. A talent of gold in weight would therefore be equivalent to 120,000 silver drachmæ, or twenty talents of silver. But the weight of the unit which formed the base of the scale, whether the drachma or the talent, varied in different states, and there was a small talent, which more especially referred to gold, sometimes termed the Sicilian talent.

The earliest coins of Lydia (see Plate I.), supposed by some to have been the celebrated *Cræsiæns*, or coins of Cræsus, weigh about 124 grains each; and some of the earliest coins of Ionia appear to have been of precisely the same standard, the double stater (No. 1, Plate I.,) weighing 248 grains.

The weight of the stater of Cyzicus was about 180† grains, and passed for twenty-eight Attic drachmæ, though possibly only worth twenty drachmæ of the corresponding silver standard of Cyzicus, the gold stater being commonly considered as a didrachma, or double drachma, in weight, and twenty drachmæ in value. The modern intrinsic value of a stater of Cyzicus, at the present price of gold, would be (calculating the number of drachmæ it passed for) 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Two staters of Lampsacus, in the British Museum, are about 129 grains, a trifle more than the weight of the Daric.

The stater of Phocæa weighed about 127 grains, and seems also to be of the standard of the Daric, but the more ancient pieces are heavier.

* See derivation of drachma, and obolus, chap. ii.

† None of the existing staters of Cyzicus come quite up to this weight, which is calculated with reference to that of the Daric.

The Attic standard, as established by Solon, according to which the celebrated gold coinage of Philip of Macedon was regulated, gave the weight of two drachms (of $\frac{6}{5}$ grains each) to the gold stater; but as gold was issued so late, and in such small quantities by the Athenians, it cannot be considered as belonging to the coinage, and is only referred to here on account of the Athenian standard of monetary weight having eventually formed the basis of most of the gold coin issued after the Macedonian reigns of Philip and Alexander.

By the weight given above of the various gold staters, it will be seen that the original standard of the earliest gold coinages varied greatly in different states; the unit upon which it was based, the drachma, being heavier in one state than another. The Asiatic standards of monetary weight eventually became those upon which the later silver coinages of Greece were founded, and it is believed that the Babylonian standard was that upon which those of the Greeks were more immediately based, as it accords with that of Ægina, the earliest monetary standard of European Greece. The connexion may be traced in the following manner:—

The heavy stater of Cyzicus was evidently based upon the Babylonian standard, and with the well-accredited gold coin of that state the Æginetans made their early silver coinage agree in weight. As a proof, if we take the average weight of the oldest gold Cyzicenes known, we shall find it to be about 180 grains, or rather more. Now the oldest didrachms of Ægina, supposed to be the oldest Greek coinage of silver, though estimated theoretically at more, generally average about 183 grains—a sufficient approximation to prove this coinage to have been founded upon the older gold standards of Asia, especially that of Cyzicus, which agrees with the Babylonian. When a lighter drachma was adopted at Athens by Solon, weighing only sixty-six grains and a fraction, twenty of them no longer corresponded with the older gold coinages of Asia, and twenty-eight Attic drachms were given for a stater of Cyzicus instead of twenty. But on the other hand, the reformed Athenian scale agreed exactly with a more recent Asiatic standard, that of the Persian Darics and probably the Croesian staters also.

The gold Darics are supposed on good grounds to have been a Persian issue or recoinage, at the time of the sub-

jection of the Greek colonies of Asia to that power, as there is no evidence that the Persians possessed a coinage of their own, but only coined the Darics in imitation of the coins they found in circulation in the conquered provinces, and only for the use of those provinces themselves. But it is possible that a re-adjustment of the standard took place at the time of this extensive recoinage, and that the Daric when it replaced the Greek staters in the conquered provinces, was not only an equalisation of the various standards which differed in every petty state, but that the standard was also at that time reduced in weight. This subjection of the Greek provinces is generally fixed at about 565 B. C., and the laws of Solon respecting the Athenian coinage are generally considered to have been promulgated in the year 583—a year in which he is known to have been Archon—and possibly for that reason has the issue of the laws regarding the coinage been attributed to that year. But as Solon lived till 529 B. C., the final establishment of his regulations may have taken place at a later period, and I conceive therefore that the new standard may have been made to agree with a grand and general reformation and equalisation, recently effected by the genius of Cyrus, who had in 565 B. C., more than thirty years before the death of Solon, added the Greek territories in Asia to his extensive empire. I come to this conclusion, because the Persian coins of the time, the earliest known, weigh exactly two Attic drachms, and were worth twenty. It is true that these Persian coins bear the name of a successor of Cyrus, and not his own, being the well known *Darics*; but this circumstance does not militate with great force against the argument, as the term Daric is merely a popular and not an official one, and not likely to have been conferred until the coinage so denominated was very generally received and accredited, which was not likely to have been the case, while it was, in a manner, a novelty, more particularly as I conclude that the coins had been reduced in weight from former staters. The convenience, however, of a general equalisation of the weight of the gold coin, which before differed in each petty state, and also its great abundance, could not fail eventually to bring it into high credit; but this probably did not take place thoroughly till after the short

reign of his son Cambyses, when the popular appellation of the coin would naturally be derived from that of the then reigning monarch, Darius Hydaspes. These views are founded in some way on mere conjecture, but combined with so many positive facts that they seem likely to be very near to the truth.*

The Greek gold of which I have been speaking refers mainly to the gold of the Asiatic colonies of Greece, as it would appear, from a comparison of the best evidence on the subject, that there was no gold coinage in the states of European Greece, till a much later period, and even then of no extent,—the few gold coins of Athens, Bœotia, &c., being of extreme rarity. This is further proved by the monetary terms in use in Greece, *ἀργυρος* (*argyros*), silver, forming the base of nearly all terms relating to money, while *χρυσος* (*chrysos*), gold, enters into very few. The Athenians, to the last period of the national coinage, called a money changer, a silver changer, (*ἀργυραμοιβός*) and in the time of Sophocles it is evident that gold was considered very rare, as he makes Creon say in the “*Antigone*,” “Go and buy if you will, the electrum† of Sardis and the Indian gold,” while in exchanging silver for gold, for convenience of carriage or export, such exchange was called *χρυσωρεῖν*—to buy gold.

OF THE FOREIGN GOLD COINS CIRCULATING IN GREECE.

The Darics, and indeed the various gold coinages of Grecianised Asia, passed current in Greece, but as foreign coin, at a very early period, and when a more abundant gold issue and one nearer home became common money in Greece,

* In Lydia the old stater appears to have been below the weight of the Daric, such as No. 2, Plate 1, weighing about 124 grs. In parts of Ionia also, the same standard appears to have prevailed: the coin of Miletus, No. 1, Plate 1, a double stater weighing about 248 grs., while the early staters of Cyzicus, Phœcea, and Lampsacus, exceeded this weight in various degrees; so that if my conjecture be true, the Daric was a fair average of the different standards prevailing at the time.

† The coins of Lydia were frequently of electrum, a mixture of gold and silver, of a light straw colour, an amalgam supposed to be found existing in that state.

it was yet derived from a foreign source, and not coined by any Greek state. This was the famous Macedonian coinage of the Philips, so called from the name of the prince by whom they were issued.

This coinage is generally considered Greek, as Philip eventually obtained the privilege of being considered a Greek sovereign, and admitted as such to the sacred games, &c. Therefore from this time, Greek money is not invariably spoken of as *silver*, but the term χρυσιον, or gold money, is occasionally used without defining of what nation, or denomination, as previously, the Darics or Cyzicenes, or other foreign gold coins, had been described.

But, as has been stated, previous to this period foreign gold circulated freely in Greece, and some of the islands, and especially Samos, appear to have had at an early period a gold coinage, for the tyrant Polycrates is said to have imposed upon the Lacedæmonians by paying to them gilded coins upon a certain occasion, instead of the true gold coin which they expected. There are gold coins of an early period which are supposed to belong to the island of Siphnas, where rich gold mines were worked in the time of Cræsus. But the gold chiefly circulating in Greece was, first, that of Lydia, the coins of which were long known as Cræsiens; secondly, that of Cyzicus, where gold continued to be coined till the close of the Roman empire, known as Cyzicenes,* of which, in a depreciated form, the later zechines or sequins of Venice are supposed to be imitations both in name and value; and thirdly, the Darics, which, however, disappeared after the age of Alexander, the great bulk of them being recoinced by that conqueror in the form of the well-known staters of his reign. The Daric, when it passed for twenty Attic drachmæ, was (according to the few

* The Cyzicenes would appear to have had a larger circulation beyond the boundaries of their own state than any other Greek gold previous to the issue of the celebrated Philips—a fact attested by the numerous imitations of them by other states, as was afterwards the case with the Philips. This sort of imitation of the coins of one state by another, has its analogy in modern, or rather mediæval Europe, the gold florins, taking their name from Florence, the first city of modern Europe to issue gold in quantity, having been copied by many other states, not only in name but even in the device of the Florentine lily, their principal type.

specimens preserved) four grains short of the weight of the Attic didrachm, being only about 128 grains instead of 132; and the exchange with Athens proves gold, say about 400 B.C., to have been a little more than ten times the value of silver. The value of the Daric in our money is about 16s. 3d. Barthelemy states that they are twenty-three karats ($\frac{23}{24}$ ths) fine, if so, they are $\frac{1}{24}$ th finer than our gold. The stater of Phoea was also in circulation in the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ; but being of baser metal than the Cyzicene, or Daric, it never circulated so widely, and fell earlier into discredit.

It has been seen that the gold attributed to Sardis, the capital of Lydia, the gold of Cyzicus, and the Darics, formed the principal gold circulation in Greece Proper prior to the time of Philip of Macedon. But the Sicilians, especially the Syracusans, had a gold coinage as early, if not earlier, than 400 B.C., as had also some of the cities of Southern Italy (Magna Græcia), among which the gold coins of Tarentum may be cited as the most plentiful, and the most remarkable for their beauty. For while the primitive gold coinages of the Greek colonies in Asia are more remarkable for their curious antique workmanship, the gold of Sicily and Magna Græcia, most of which belong to the finest period of the monetary art among the Greeks, is celebrated for its fine workmanship; but it is rivalled by cotemporary gold of the Spartan colony of Cyrene in Africa, and by the late gold of some Greek cities in Asia, especially that of Clazomene.

THE GOLD COINAGE OF PHILIP II. OF MACEDON, ALEXANDER THE GREAT, AND OTHER GREEK DYNASTIES.

The gold of Philip II., issued in large quantities from his Thessalian mines, soon* nearly superseded all other gold coin, and became so celebrated for its full weight and purity, and so extensively known from its abundance, that it was immediately copied in Sicily, with the addition sometimes of a national type, or symbol, to distinguish it, and afterwards by other Greek states, and even by barbaric nations for

* See coins of the Kings of Macedon.

centuries after the time of Philip ; still, however, bearing the original name which these staters soon acquired, of *Philips*. Some of these coins remained in circulation in remote provinces bordering on Asia and Europe to times very near to our own. The staters of Philip II. were coined according to the Attic standard of about sixty-six grains to the drachm, though the old Macedonian standard resembling that of Ægina, but still heavier, was continued in the silver coinage till the reign of Alexander the Great, when the Attic standard was adopted for that metal also. The ancient standard of Macedonia may be taken at 108 grains to the drachm, which perhaps was the same originally as that of Ægina, derived through Phidon of Argos, and which in inland Macedonia, remained uninfluenced by the innovations of active commerce, while in the commercial island of Ægina the decrease from ninety-six to eighty-two grains subsequently took place ; after which the coinage of that island assumed the firm standard from which it did not again depart.

The Ptolemies, in establishing their sway in Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great, adopted the ancient Macedonian standard for their money—a fact to be spoken of hereafter.

Alexander coined gold after the same standard as his father Philip, and the quantity minted in Asia was enormous, nearly all the Darics and other staters being recoined in the Alexandrian form.*

The gold staters of Philip and Alexander were of the highest purity ; in fact, without alloy. The mere particle of silver which they contain being considered present merely because it could not be separated ; therefore, as containing 133 grains of fine gold, while our sovereign contains 123 grains 22 carats (or $\frac{1}{12}$ ths) fine, the stater of these reigns is equal to 17. 3s. 6d. of our money ; but calculated according to its relative value in silver at the time, (namely, twenty drachms,) it is only worth 16s. 3d., gold having been less valuable in proportion to silver then than now.

Of the successors of Alexander, Lysimachus, who obtained possession of the Thracian and Thessalian gold mines, issued

* For types of gold of Alexander and Philip, see coins of the Macedonian Dynasty.

the greatest quantity of gold money,—that of Lysimachus still existing in great abundance, and occasionally in large pieces, even of the weight of eight or ten drachms. The octodrachms, or eight-drachm pieces, of the Ptolemies are celebrated and well-known; and being coined according to the ancient Macedonian standard, were long a puzzle to numismatists as to weight and denomination. Only a few nearly unique gold coins occur in the money of Syria and in the dynasty of the Seleucidæ, and the same may be said of the Parthian coinage of the Arsacidæ, till the revolution of Ardishir, who established the Persian supremacy, after which gold was coined in accordance with the weight of the Roman *aureus*.

In the mean time some of the lesser Greek dynasties in Asia had coined gold, such as the Kings of Pontus, of Pergamus, of Bythynia, and also the Sicilian family of Hiero King of Syracuse, where the Attic standard had been adopted for the gold coinage. The gold coinage of the Kings of the Cimmerian Bosphorus belongs perhaps more to the Roman than the Greek period.

GREEK COINS OF ELECTRUM.

The metal termed by the ancients electrum is a mixture of gold and silver, which is of a pale straw colour, instead of the rich deep yellow of pure gold. The earliest known coins of the metal are among those now attributed to Sardis in Lydia, the metal of which is supposed to have been a natural amalgam, found in the sands of the Pactolus, which flowed near the Sardian capital; and probably in other places also, as later Greek coins, both autonomous and regal, are known of this metal. At a late period it was artificially imitated, and Pliny mentions in detail the relative proportions of gold and silver made use of, which was sometimes a fifth, and occasionally even a third of silver. There are Sicilian coins of Agathocles in this metal, of the kings of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and also of the Gaulish and British chieftains or princes, previous to the Roman invasion.

OF THE GREEK SILVER COINS, THEIR WEIGHTS,
AND VALUES.

SILVER COINAGES OF THE ÆGINETAN STANDARD.

I have in this work accepted the theory that the Greek silver coinage was copied from the gold ones of Lydia and Hellenic Asia, and that the weights and values adopted were also founded on the Asiatic ones.

The earliest Greek silver, that of Ægina, appears, as stated in the previous chapter, to have corresponded with the earliest gold of Asia, especially that of Cyzicus.*

The largest silver coin of the Æginetans appears to have been the didrachm,† or piece of two drachms, weighing from 182 to 196 grains, but they had the triobolus or half drachma, the diobolus, or piece of two obols, which were the third of a drachma—obols, and, even half obols, all of silver.

The following is a Table of their proportion and value:—

					Weight. Grs.	Value in Modern Money. s. d. f.		
$\frac{1}{2}$	Obol	.	.	.	8		1	0.583
2	1 Obol	.	.	.	16		2	1.116
4	2	1 Diobolus	.	.	32		4	2.33
6	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1 Triobolus	.	48		6	2.5
12	6	3	2	1 Drachma	96	1	1	3
24	12	6	4	2	1 Didrachm	2	3	2

It will be seen by the above table that the drachma divided into seventy-two half obols, forms the original type upon which our shillings and pennies would seem to be founded, though the Roman Denarius, derived from the

* Mr. Millingen, a great authority, appears to consider the staters of Cyzicus among the earliest, if not themselves the earliest, of all gold coin.

† The tridrachm or piece of three drachms, the tetradrachm or piece of four drachms, and the decadrachm or piece of ten drachms, are rarely found in the early coinages, except in the Macedonian series.

Greek drachma, is their more immediate parent, and yet not so like, the divisions of the Denarius being decimal.

This standard, the Æginetan, was adopted in many Grecian states, perhaps all originally, even where no coins exist to prove it. The Macedonian standard was evidently founded upon it,* and it was firmly established in Bœotia, where coins of exceedingly early character are found, the earliest having nothing to distinguish their place of mintage but the well known national device, the buckler. But afterwards they have the initial letter of the capital, Thebes, Θ. On the earliest coins this character is written . 

next 

then 

and lastly 

After these, the next Bœotian series appear to be those with the first three letters of Thebes, ΘEB. After this period the weight of the original standard falls off in the Bœotian coinage, eventually to the amount of sixteen grains. In other countries where this standard was adopted, it seems to have been a little lighter than in Ægina and Bœotia, with the sole exception of Macedonia. In Argos, where it appears to have been adopted by Phidon, the oldest coins give ninety grains to a drachma, later ones from seventy to eighty; but a solitary gold coin of Argos, perhaps the best test of the really accepted standard, as being more carefully adjudged, gives ninety-nine grains to the drachma: the Æginetan silver standard is found, though slightly depreciated, in Naxos, Crete, Samos, Seriphus, Teos, Phoea, Abydos, and at Hemera, in Sicily, and Rhegium and Tarentum in Magna Græcia. But at these last mentioned places the Æginetan standard was slightly depreciated, and it was surpassed in weight, as stated, by that established in Macedonia, which may be taken at 108 grains to the drachma.

The Macedonian drachma of 108 grains was no doubt the original Æginetan, before its early depreciation, and which in fact it ought to be, according to theory, and in accordance

* See preceding pages on weights of Greek gold.

with various *talents*, and other *moneys of account*, mentioned by ancient authors. Some Thracian tribes, near the celebrated silver mines, appear to have coined money at least as early as the time of Alexander I. of Macedonia, or about 500 B.C., and these coins resembling those of Macedonia, and bearing sometimes the remarkable inscription in full, Γελας βασιλεὺς Ἡδωναν. “Gelas, king of the Edonians,” the earliest example of the title of kings being assumed upon a coin—the famous one of Alexander I. of Macedonia having simply the name: these coins give from 105 to 107 grains to the drachm, as do the earliest and famous Cistophoræ* or silver tetradrachms of Rhodes, afterwards current throughout all Asia Minor.

SILVER COINAGES OF THE ATTIC STANDARD.

The oldest Attic coins known are of the standard established by Solon; they may be half a century older than the coins of Alexander I. of Macedon,—the Solonian standard having been finally settled perhaps about 550 or 540 B.C. In speaking of the Greek gold, I have supposed the reform of the Attic standard, which then took place, to have been founded upon the *then* existing state of the principal Asiatic gold standard, which in its *earlier* period I suppose to have formed the basis of the Æginetan standard. This reformed standard of Athens gave 66 grains and a fraction to the drachm, a standard ever after scrupulously observed by the Athenians till they lost their independence. The weights were kept with great care at Athens, the standards or models (σηκώματα) being deposited in the Acropolis. This scrupulous attention soon caused the Athenian money to hold a very high rank, and to be freely current with all nations trading with the Greeks; which may account for the immense variety of minor types† on the Athenian coinage, frequently, no doubt, the types of cities and states where the Athenian coin was received as equal to the national money.

The following table will show the Athenian standard better than verbal description. The mina and the talent were not money in coins, but nominal weights, by which large sums were computed.

* See popular names of coins.

† To be referred to again in the chapter on Types.

Table of the Attic Silver Weights, in Avoirdupois Weight.

					lb.	oz.	grs.
1 Obol							11·08
6	1 Drachma						66·5
600	100	1 Mina				15	83·75
36000	6000	60	1 Talent . .		56	15½	100·32

There were double, treble, and quadruple obols, and also minute subdivisions of the obolus, coined specimens of each of which are still in existence, notwithstanding their extreme minuteness; they are supposed to have been issued to replace an attempted coinage of small copper, which was called in in the year 392 B.C.; a measure arising probably from the pride taken by the Athenians in the acknowledged high purity of their silver coin.

The following table will exhibit the various names and weights of this minute silver coinage:—

					lb.	oz.	grs.
$\frac{1}{4}$ Obol							2½
2	$\frac{1}{2}$ Obol						5½
4	2	1 Obol					11
8	4	2	1 Diobolus				22
12	6	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1 Triobolus			33
16	8	4	2	1 Tetrobolus			44

The coinage in silver of these minute sub-divisions of the obolus arose probably, as suggested, from the repugnance of the Athenians to coin in copper, every attempt to coin in that metal having met with the greatest opposition from all classes of eminent men, from politicians to poets, the details of which will find their place in the remarks devoted to Greek copper coins.

It would be impossible in the space of this work to enter into a minute description of the slight differences of the silver coin of different Greek states, but I may, in dismissing the subject, state, that although in Sicily, most of the later silver is coined upon the Athenian standard, other pieces are coined to agree with the copper standard of the *litra* or monetary *pound* existing in that island, to be mentioned

in another place. The piece of the weight of ten Æginetan obols, sometimes termed the Corinthian stater, may be considered perhaps the general silver standard of Sicily: and this piece is also in correspondence with the native copper standard, and represents ten *litraë*, being called a decalitron; the larger Sicilian pieces, commonly called Sicilian *medallions*, are considered decadrachms, but perhaps more properly, *pentecontalitraë*, or pieces of fifty *litraë*. A decadrachm, or ten-drachm piece, would be worth sixty Attic obols, instead of fifty; but these obols are Æginetan, instead of Attic, which would make these pieces represent more nearly twelve Attic drachms than ten. But enough has been said to show that these intricacies cannot be entered on in a work of this extent, and as regards the Sicilian coinage, it will be sufficient to remark that it is difficult on looking at a Sicilian coin to say to what standard or scale it belongs; a coin of about the size of a didrachm, for instance, might be called a didrachma, or perhaps more properly, a decalitron, worth ten obols of Ægina, which appears to have been, in accordance with the piece, called the Corinthian stater, or didrachm, of that value, which may in short be considered as the principal standard, and as forming the bulk of the Sicilian silver money.

OF THE GREEK COINAGE OF COPPER.

In describing the coins of various Greek states, I have altogether avoided giving specimens of copper, as it was adopted at a much later period than silver or gold; and though it eventually came into common use in many Greek states as a subordinate coin, it never became among the Greeks the national standard, as it was in Rome,* where its description will, of course, form the prominent feature in the chapters devoted to that subject. In the Greek series, the earliest copper is supposed to have been issued in Macedonia, by the King Æropus, about the year 397 B.C. The attempt to introduce a copper coinage in Athens may have preceded it, though no specimens of such an issue are in existence. The first recorded attempt took

* And, perhaps, *originally* in Sicily.

place to repair in some measure, with a small and poor issue of copper, the drain upon the treasury which had taken place in consequence of the ruinous expenditure caused by the Peloponnesian war. The orator Dionysius, who defended the project, became so unpopular in consequence, that he received the epithet of the "brazen orator," or (ὁ χαλκοῦς) the man of brass. Salmasius alludes to this brass or copper coinage, when he states that brass was minted by the Athenians in the Archonship of Callias, in the 81st Olympiad. There is evidence that this coinage was called in in the year 392 B.C., and the minute silver pieces mentioned at page 193 were no doubt issued to replace it. Small copper pieces were, however, soon issued again, as it would seem, for we find mention of them in various places. These copper pieces soon acquired, like the silver and gold before them, a name founded on the metal of which they were composed, and were known as χαλκίον and χαλκία, signifying copper money, from χαλκος, copper. The principal coin of the series were called a χαλκους (chalcous), signifying a piece of copper. These copper coins were fractional parts of the obolus, two of them going to the quarter obolus of silver; thus the copper chalcus was the eighth of a silver obolus. Pollux mentions another copper coin, of an early age, called collybus (κόλλυβος); but as that term signified generally, "changing money," collybus may be simply another name for any small copper money, just as our modern pattern farthings of the time of Cromwell, were inscribed with "convenient change." That the chalcus was despised in countries long accustomed to an exclusively silver coinage, we may gather from a passage in Demosthenes, who speaks of a worthless thing as not worth a chalcus, just as we might say, not worth a brass button.

At a later period, perhaps about 200 B.C., obols of copper were coined, which were at first as large as the Roman first brass, or our large penny of George III. About 185 B.C. we find Ptolemy Epiphanos, King of Egypt, paying several talents all in copper money.* In later times the chalcus

* The copper of the Ptolemies is of a very peculiar character, the pieces being of large size, nearly three times as bulky as our large penny of the reign of George III., the horned head of Jupiter Ammon on the obverse, and the Ptolemaic eagle on the reverse.

was subdivided into *lepta*, of which Combe gives eight to the chalcus; and there were also, he says, the dilepton, or double lepton, and the tetralepton, or piece of four lepta, which last was sometimes termed a hemichalcus, or half-chalcus. The Athenian examples of the dilepton may sometimes be distinguished, according to the same authority, by their bearing *two* owls for device, or types, or sometimes two owls with one head; perhaps it may eventually be found that the single lepton is distinguished by a single owl; the dilepton by two owls with one head, and the tetralepton two distinct owls.

Scale showing the relative Proportions of the Lepton, the Chalcus, and the Obol.

Lepton.				
2		1	Dilepton.	
4		2	1 Tetralepton.	
8		4	2	1 Chalcus.
64		32	16	8 1 Obol.

Among the regal coinages issued by the successors of Alexander in Syria and Macedonia, and also by the Sicilian princes, the obol and half-obol became the most common copper money, some of them being very fine coins.

On the formation of all these, and other regions, into Roman provinces, they were deprived of the right of striking silver or gold money, with the exception of a few favoured cities, such as Antioch, Damascus, Smyrna, Alexandria; and the Greek copper struck under the dominion of Rome was made to accord in most instances with the standard weights or values of the Roman coinage, though the Greek names as that of the obolus, &c., were often retained. After this epoch, the Greek coinage was no longer worthy of its early celebrity, but some account of it will find its place in the description of coinage of the Roman empire.

I have not particularised the copper of Sicily, in the foregoing sketch of Greek copper, respecting which, and that of Magna Græcia, I must say a few words before I close these brief remarks on the subject. It would appear that in Sicily, as in Italy, copper formed the first monetary standard; the unit of which, was in Sicily termed *litra*,

from which term it is supposed that the Roman *libra*, or pound, was originally derived. It clearly appears that copper preceded silver as a rude currency in Sicily, or it would not have been computed by such large measure as the pound weight; while in Greece, where it was introduced after the silver, it only appeared as representing small subdivisions of the lowest silver coin. Temesia exported copper as early as Homer's time, and it was found plentifully in Hetruria and Campania. It is to be inferred from these facts and others, that the Italians and Sicilians had established a copper currency as a medium of exchange before the arrival of the Greek colonists; but one most probably passing by *weight*, and not by *tale*. (See pages 7, 8.)

The system of monetary weights in copper in these countries appears to have been founded upon the pound weight, as the unit; which was, according to Aristotle, in his "Polity of the Agrigentines," the *litra* of the Sicilians, and the *libra* of the Italians, and of the value of an Æginetan obolus. This pound was subdivided into twelve ounces, or *oungkia* (οὐγκία), of the Sicilians, and *uncia* of the Italians,—each ounce, according to Aristotle, in his "Polity of the Himærians," being of the value of one *chalcus*; but as the *chalcus* was only one-eighth, and not one-twelfth of the obol, this statement must be received with caution, as some peculiar *chalcus* must be alluded to, probably the Attic, twelve of which would approximate in value to eight of Ægina. But the connexion of the Italian *libra* of copper, and the Greek obol of silver, is one of the most intricate subjects in the whole range of metrology, and the student must be referred to the learned treatises of Professor Böckh, and others who have treated the subject in all its details. It will be sufficient to state here, that early Sicilian copper now exists, founded upon the uncial system, which, as I shall have to notice it in the origin of the Roman coinage, I need not describe here.

Various modifications of scale and weight were resorted to in order to bring a system founded on the *libra* and *uncia*, into accordance with that of the Greeks, founded on the *drachma* and *obol*; which received further complication from the necessity of having regard both to the Æginetan and Attic standards, both of which were used by different colonies;

while in some the two prevailed, in modified forms, in the same colony; as at Syracuse, for instance, founded by the Corinthians, who, in their early coinages, followed the Æginetan scale, and afterwards partially adopted the Athenian.

The fine Sicilian copper coins of a later period, those of Hiero II., and his family, for instance, are probably half-litrae; reduced, of course, in weight from the earlier standard, or they would weigh half a pound. But as the silver became more abundant in countries where a copper coinage had previously existed, the copper pieces corresponding with the value of a given piece of silver, rapidly decreased in weight, the rarer silver coin having been at first over-valued:—with reference to copper, and, as the silver had obtained a wider circulation and firmer footing than the copper, it was the copper standard of weight that gave way rather than the silver.

In Magna Græcia, about the time of the coins of Hiero of Sicily, and after all the Greek colonies of that part of Italy had sunk under Roman influence, the uncial system began to predominate over that of the obol and drachma, and vast quantities of copper coins of the different portions of the Roman pound were issued in the different states; these have most commonly the head of a deity on the obverse, and a Biga or Quadriga on the reverse, and they are marked by a certain number of semiglobular dots to denote the number of ounces they represent, which will be spoken of more in detail in treating of the early Roman coinage. (See also page 66.)

CONCLUDING SUMMARY OF THE WEIGHTS AND VALUE OF GREEK COINS.

After having enumerated such details of the subject as my space will allow, the origin and character of the weights relating both to gold, silver, and copper money may be thus briefly summed up. First, the old Greek term *ταλαντον*, a talent, as used by Homer, simply signified weight, and the oriental term *μνα*,* a mina, was of a subsequent adoption, and

* The term *μνα*, a *mina*, is of Semitic origin, and more especially of the Chaldee dialect, and the word *maneh* expresses number or measure, in its widest sense; *tekel* or *shekel* being the proper word for *weight*, from which the name of the chief Hebrew coin is derived.

marks the introduction of an oriental standard, that most probably of the Chaldæans of Babylon; the oldest Greek standard of weight, the Æginetan, being nearly identical with the Babylonian.

The Babylonian talent here alluded to appears to have been modified in the East at a particular time, and to have been superseded to a great extent by that called by the Greeks the Euboïc, from having been introduced to them through the medium of the active commerce of the Eubœans. This modified talent appears to have been adopted by the Athenians, at a time when the older talent still prevailed in the greater part of Greece, through the influence of the commercial power of Ægina. The progressive Athenians appear to have again modified their standard in the time of Solon, and I have supposed, in my remarks on that event, that he followed some subsequent modification of the eastern standard, rather than that he invented a standard of his own, but in this supposition I do not attempt to interfere with the intricate statements and conclusions of Böckh, Müller, &c. which the more advanced student will refer to for himself, nor attempt to explain whether the correspondence of one standard with another was accidental, or the result of special arrangement; though it would seem plausible that Solon should have adjusted the new Attic standard, as suggested by these great authorities, so as to leave it in the easily calculated proportion of three to five to the Æginetan,* which it could not hope at once to supersede.

By this condensed view of the subject the student may form a general idea of the nature of the differences existing between different Greek standards of weight,† without going through a long and elaborate list of all the different *talents* that existed, either simultaneously or successively, all of which were, as it appears to me, simply progressive transitions, in which it was sought to adjust more accurately and conveniently the relative proportions of value between coin and merchandise, whether natural produce or manufactured.

* The weights and values of each proportion of the Attic and Æginetan coins are given in a former part of this chapter.

† I have not, in a work exclusively devoted to coins, referred to other scales of weight, relating to merchandise, &c., known as commercial talents.

In this view I have supposed that in the origin of a metallic currency, when its true character as a system of *counters* was imperfectly understood, it would take more coin to purchase real produce than it would when the character of a circulating medium became better known; thus, supposing that at first certain gold pieces were so regulated in weight, that each should represent the value of an ox of average quality, and that such pieces, becoming better appreciated, more than an ox might be obtained for one; then, some such remodelling of the standard would become advisable, as the following: supposing each pound weight of gold to have been originally coined into fifty gold pieces, the subsequent coinage of the same quantity into sixty-two and a half gold pieces, would bring each single piece more nearly into its original relation with the value of the ox. A process analogous to this would continue in action, slowly of course for a long period, until, by a sufficient supply of the circulating medium, and its more correct appreciation, the relative values of money and produce had found their level. But the active monetary reforms of some districts, and the inertness of others, would eventually produce a multitude of conflicting scales, the intricate relations of which between each other is most difficult to determine at the present day; and the complication is farther increased by the occasional arbitrary return to older standards under peculiar circumstances: such for instance as that of the Ptolemaic dynasty of Egypt to the ancient Macedonian standard of a particular epoch. Such returns have generally been the arbitrary acts of princes, for some political purpose, and in the case of the usurper Ptolemy, it is easy to see that the re-adoption of many of the ancient regal forms of Macedonian government was of advantage in giving an air of antique and national Macedonian legality to his assumption of power in Egypt. In other cases sovereigns have sought popularity by the issue of coin adjusted to some ancient and heavier standard, while still bearing the same name as the lighter coin superseded by them, which, though apparently benefitting the people, would have no more real effect than if an English sovereign should mint none but double guineas, calling them guineas, for which, nevertheless, twice the quantity of silver, or other equivalent, as was given for the smaller pieces, would

eventually have to be given for those of double their weight ; for no arbitrary innovations can permanently alter the natural course of relative values, depending as they do upon relations too intricate, too numerous, and too wide spread to be driven from their course by individual caprice, however powerfully aided by government regulations, and enforced by *might* or *right*, that is, by despotic force, or despotic law.

In considering the value of ancient money with reference to our own—as when we say that a gold stater of Philip II. is worth 1*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*, according to the present or recent value of gold, we cannot infer that such was its absolute value at the time of its issue, which we cannot arrive at without being very fully informed as to the quantity of real wealth, in manufactured or natural produce, or labour, which it would purchase—a subject not within the range of the present work. *

: THE POPULAR NAMES OF ANCIENT GREEK COINS.

Silver money was commonly spoken of as ἀργύριον (argyrion), from the Greek word argyros (silver), just as the French call all money *de l'argent* ; their national standard being also silver. Gold money was spoken of as chryson (χρυσίον), from chrysos (χρυσος), gold ; and copper money was designated chalcyon (χαλκίον), from chalcos (χαλκος), copper—much as our vulgar term *coppers* expressed the pence and halfpence of that metal long after it was first introduced in the modern coinage of this country.

But these are only general terms, in addition to which ancient Greek coins bore many well-known names founded upon the types they bore, or the name of the place or person by whom they were issued.

GREEK COINS NAMED AFTER THEIR TYPES.

The coins of Athens were sometimes called owls, from their well-known type ; upon which appellation the anecdote

* Jacobs's "History of the Precious Metals" affords much valuable information on this subject.

of the Athenian miser is related, who was said to have swarms of owls roosting in the roof of his house—*money* concealed there being perfectly understood by the term owls. The Athenian coins received also the name of *κορη* (the maiden), from the head of Minerva on the obverse, a name given also to coins of other places bearing the same type. The Persian staters were known as archers (*sagittarii*), from the figure of a Persian archer, which was at first the only type, and hence it was said that Agesilaus was beaten by 30,000 archers, when it was meant to be insinuated that he had been induced to withdraw from the alliance of the enemies of Persia by a bribe of 30,000 gold Darics.

The well-known and widely-spread coins of Ægina were called tortoises, from their invariable type, and the tetradrachms of Rhodes, afterwards imitated and circulated widely by several cities of Asia Minor, were called *Cistophori*, from the *cista*, or sacred chest or casket of Bacchus.

GREEK COINS NAMED AFTER THE STATE BY WHICH THEY WERE ISSUED.

Coins of very general circulation were known by the name of the place where they were minted—as the celebrated gold staters of Cyzicus so frequently mentioned by ancient authors were known as *Cyzicenes*, which, as they continued to be issued till the close of the Roman empire, conveyed the name to an early coin of Venice made in imitation of the famous *zechino*, or *sequin*. There are several other less celebrated examples which it would be useless to enumerate, but I may mention that the coins of Ægina were sometimes termed *Æginæi*.

GREEK COINS NAMED AFTER PRINCES FIRST ISSUING THEM, OR WHOSE PORTRAITS THEY BORE.

The earliest examples are the gold staters of Cræsus, King of Lydia, by some supposed to be the gold pieces with the fore parts of a bull and lion for type, described at page 12. The well-known Darics received their name from Darius Hystaspes (see pages 12 and 14), and there is the *αριανδικον νομισμα*, supposed by some to be the silver Darics

coined by the Persian governor Aryandes in Egypt. The coins minted in Sicily from the golden crown, weighing one hundred talents,* presented by the Carthaginians to Damarete, the wife of Gelo I., who had been the means of procuring them an honourable peace, received the name of *Damaretion*, and in Sicily there were also the *φιλιστιδιον νομισμα*, named after Philistes, Queen of Hiero II., which bear a very exquisitely executed veiled portrait of the Queen in the style of the well-known Greco-Egyptian coins of Arsinoe and Berenice. The Ptolmaici were the Egyptian coins of the Ptolemies. But the most celebrated Greek coins, named after the original issuer, are undoubtedly the Philips, so named as previously stated, after Philip II. of Macedon, who, for the first time in European Greece, issued gold in large quantities, coined from the gold mines of Crenides, in Thessaly, which are said to have yielded in modern money 2,880,000*l.* a-year. The pieces, whether double or single staters, coined in Asia in such large quantities by his son Alexander the Great, were also known as *Alexanders* (Alexandrini), just in the manner that in modern times we have had our *Jacobuses*, *Louis d'ors*, and *Napoleons*.

These coins were also known by the names referring to their respective weights, as drachma, obolus, &c.—as we find them generally so described by most ancient authors when speaking of small sums; larger amounts being invariably expressed in terms of *account*, as *talent*, *mina*, &c.

* These were doubtless the small Sicilian talent, which applied especially to gold.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE TYPES, MINOR TYPES, AND COUNTERMARKS OF GREEK COINS—
AUTONOMOUS AND REGAL.

THE term *type*, from the Latin *typus* and the Greek *τυπος* (typos), properly means a blow, and by extension the effect of a blow; thus the device impressed on the coin by the blow of a hammer on the cuneus* or wedge bearing the matrix or die, is termed a type. A cameo was also termed a type, but most probably as resembling the impression on a coin, in its degree of relief, &c. Cicero, in his letters to Atticus, commissions his friend to procure certain *typi* for him, to work into the plastering of his *atrium*, from which it would seem that the term eventually included *reliefs* of any kind, those of different descriptions being expressed by such compounds as *ἀντιτυπος*, the copy or impress from a type; *ἐντυπος*, a sunken pattern, or *intaglio*; while *ἐκτυπος* expressed more particularly a high relief, as distinct from a low relief. The term type may therefore be considered to express, generally, anything which is an exact facsimile or copy of another, and so is extremely appropriate to the devices on coins received in exact facsimile from a die.

The types found on Greek coins afford us an immense number of representations, which communicate to us, with curious accuracy, the nature and form of a host of objects consecrated to various divinities, the most generally acknowledged attributes of those divinities, and the peculiarities of their worship, as well as a vast number of objects connected with the history, the sciences, and the arts of ancient nations.

The earliest Greek or Lydian money, as described in Chapter II. only exhibits a type on one side, the other being occupied by a rough indent caused by the punch which

* See Chap. xi., page 10.

served to drive the metal into the die ; but at a later period, as the arts and commerce extended their domain, not only were means found to impress a type on both sides of the coin, but each principal type was accompanied by a number of smaller ones, as beautifully executed, notwithstanding their minute size, as the larger and principal types.

ON THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE TYPES OF GREEK COINS.

TYPES OF THE FIRST PERIOD.

The great variety of types found on Greek coins is partly owing to the circumstance that the right of coinage among the Greeks belonged to every free city * in a state, and not to the capital alone. Thus, in Macedonia, up to the time of Philip II., many cities continued to strike money with their own peculiar types, though the coin issued by the prince himself circulated throughout the country ; and so highly prized was this privilege by Grecian citizens, that after the total subjection of every great state both in Europe and Asia to the power of Rome, still the right of striking their own money was continued to many powerful cities, even to a late period of the empire.

The earliest types of the coinage of the oldest Greek states and colonies appear generally to relate to the foundation of the state, the site chosen, or the nature of the soil ; generally expressed by some suitable symbol, which was made sacred to the tutelar deity of the people.

That a symbol thus rendered sacred should have been deemed the most proper image to impress upon a coin, like a national seal, as a guarantee of its purity and weight, is easily understood, and the more so as this idea of expressing a guarantee by the act of sealing is of the highest antiquity, sealing having been used as an act of solemnisation of a compact long before coins were known.

* See "Autonomous Coins," chap. xv., page 181.

The types of early Greek coins, therefore, afford us a most interesting series of symbols connected with the foundation and early history of several Greek states, of which no other record remains, and the study of them was commenced nearly as early as the time of the revival of learning in the fifteenth century.

It was thought by some that such types as the bunch of grapes on the coins of Myconos, and the ear of wheat on those of Metapontum, had only reference to the products of the soil, while others insisted that they were purely religious; but more recent investigation has shown that they partake of both characters, for the adoption of a divinity and the dedication of certain things as objects of sacrifice in the worship of that divinity frequently depended upon the products of the soil or the geographical character of the locality. Thus, it is well known that it was usual to pay divine honours to adjacent rivers, as causes of fertility, &c., as is shown by the frequent occurrence of the name of river deities on coins. A newly formed city not unfrequently received its name from that of the stream or some object connected with it, as at Selinus, in Sicily, where the stream is still covered with the water-parsley plant, called by the Greeks *σελινον* (selinon), which gave its name to the city, and became, no doubt, an offering to the presiding deity, and, as such, the sacred emblem by which the people of Selinus sealed or stamped the public money.* The river Acheloüs, in Acarnania, represented by a human-headed bull, is a fine example of the personification and worship of rivers, as also the types of the cities of Gelas, Neapolis, &c., no doubt copied from this; as well as the frequently occurring type of the bull, generally symbolising a river. Seaport towns frequently adopted marine objects for the national symbol, and from causes analogous to the one detailed above, as the dolphin of Syracuse, the seal of Phocæa, the tortoise of Ægina, and the cuttle-fish and cockle-shell of other places.

Some types of the nature of that of Selinus, are such as have been termed by early numismatists "*speaking types*," by whom they were considered a sort of *pun* upon the

* See description of Plate IV. for an account of several early types of Greek coins.

name of the state, a display of small wit which such a people as the Greeks do not appear at all likely to have displayed upon a matter so serious as the national coinage. Some writers, however, still persist in this view of the matter, and cite the mediæval coins of the Spanish city of Granada, upon which the fruit of the *granata*, or pomegranate, appears as the type, which, even should it be proved in that case to be a mere pun, would be no proof that the early Greeks condescended to similar *jeux d'esprit*; for modern coins and medals afford numerous examples of such sorry attempts at wit as could never enter into the more severe tastes of the ancients. For instance, on what ancient medal could such a puerile and yet profane conceit as the following be found:—Pope Urban VIII., on repairing certain roads, caused a medal to be struck with the inscription, “Blessed are they who keep my ways” (BEATI QUI CUSTODIUNT VIAS MEAS). Nevertheless, though the idea of *speaking types* as intentional puns must be abandoned, yet it will be interesting to refer to a few of the most striking examples of this class of type. That of the coinage of Rhodes is among the most frequently cited, a flower of the rose being the type, which flower bears the same name as the island (*ροδον*); but as the rose is remarkably abundant in that island, and sacred to Venus, who was worshipped there, it may easily be conceived to have been adopted from similar motives to those which induced the adoption of the parsley leaf as a national symbol at Selinus. I shall briefly mention a few other examples, without comment. The coins of Side have a pomegranate, in Greek *side* (*σιδη*); those of Melos, the apple, in Greek *melon* (*μήλον*); those of the ancient Ancona, in Italy, the elbow, in Greek *ancon* (*αγκον*); and those of Cardia, the heart, in Greek *cardia* (*καρδία*).

Some cities received their names from the deities whose effigies appear eventually on the coins, as Athens from Athena, the Greek name of Minerva; and Posidonia, in Magna Græcia, from Poseidon, the Greek name of Neptune. Greek types of the first period are almost entirely symbols, while in the second period the deities themselves are personified.

ON THE OBVERSE AND REVERSE OF ANCIENT COINS.

The symbolic types of the first period were long considered as forming the obverse or principal side of the coin, even after the head of a deity was introduced; thus we find the ancient type of Corinth, the Pegasus, still on the principal side of the coin after the introduction of the head of Minerva as a national type; for the last-mentioned type first occurs in the hollow square, or punch mark, which is obviously the inferior side of the coin, being in early specimens merely a rugged blank, as described in a previous chapter on the origin of coinage. Very beautiful subjects frequently occur in the *hollow square* of the Bœotian coinage, while the ancient buckler still occupies the place of honour; and other similar examples will be found in the early plates of this volume; so that when, from increased skill in the art of coining, the trace of the square mark disappears, it is difficult to say whether the post of honour changed places at that epoch, or whether, long afterwards, the more ancient type was still considered to form the obverse or principal side of the coin.

A sort of intermediate type between that of the very simple emblems found on the earliest coins, and the representation of gods under the human form, is that which symbolises them under an especial figure. River deities, for instance, were at first represented by the poetic emblem of a bull. Homer describes the roaring of the river Scamander as resembling that of a bull, and an impetuous torrent may easily be conceived to have some poetic analogy with the impetuous attack of an enraged bull.

Types founded on this idea are such as are found on the coins of Acarnania, where the river deity Achelöus is represented by a bull with a human head; divinity being expressed as it were by the intellect symbolised by the human head, and power by the body of the bull. The coins of Gelas, in Sicily, and Neapolis, in Magna Græcia, have a similar type. The lion and bull on the coins of Acanthus have been supposed to symbolise power of a higher quality overcoming brute strength, as in Persia the same figure often expresses royalty subduing the rude force of the people, and in other cases in the east it bears a mere religious

character—the bull, being the image of water or moisture, overcome by the lion, an image of the sun. Fire, or the great central fire, the sun, was the symbol of Deity among the followers of Zoroaster. A similar meaning has been given recently to Assyrian sculptures, in which the same emblems are combined.*

As a bull has been used by poets and in early monetary types to express a river, so it is supposed that a serpent represents the sea, especially on coins of the Brettii. The *hydrimarini*, mentioned by Pliny (the sea-serpent being no modern invention), having been frequently used by poets to express marine power, in such a manner as the monster† Scylla, on a coin of Agrigentum, symbolises the dangers of the well-known strait that separates Italy from Sicily. The *serpent* which accompanies the rose on the coins of Rhodes is thought to express the insular position of that state.

SECOND PERIOD OF GREEK TYPES.

The ideal portraits of the deities of the Greek mythology next become the leading types of the Grecian coinage. A good and well marked example of the two periods may be found in the coins of Athens. The earliest known, having only an owl, an attribute of Minerva, for principal type, while those of a later period have the effigy of the deity herself. In grandeur of treatment, some of these idealised impersonalities of the deities of the Greek mythology, surpass any modern efforts of a similar class; such, for instance, as the magnificent head of Proserpine or Ceres, on the well known Sicilian medallions.

The earliest representations of the gods by the Greeks consisted of mere masses of stone, the descent of aerolites having possibly given rise to the idea that stones falling upon the earth in a manner so wonderful, were especial manifestation of the presence of a deity, which gave rise to the personification of divinity under the form of a stone.

* See description of coins of Gelas, Camarina, and Catania, in the chapter on Greek Coins of the Finest Period.

† See coins of Agrigentum in same chapter.

That such an impression did prevail is proved by the stone deity, Elgabal, worshipped in Syria, the principal seat of the worship of aerolitic stones, which is described as a dark coloured conical stone, to which was attached the tradition that it fell from heaven: it was, no doubt, an aerolite. This stone was carried to Rome in great state by the emperor Eliogabalus, which was the origin of his surname, by which he is better known than by that of his family*.

Venus was anciently worshipped at Paphos under the form of a similar stone, as were also the Juno of the Thespians, and the Diana of Icaria, and in other cases a stone column was made to represent a divinity. The Dioscuri being represented in Lacædemonia by two parallel pieces of stone, united by two transverse pieces.

There are a few examples of very rude heads of deities upon Greek coins, but the earliest worthy of attention are those of the archaic period above referred to; some of which are remarkable for their careful and minute execution, and at the same time a certain grandeur and simplicity which distinguishes all works of Greek art among the coins of this class. Those of Naxos bearing the head of Bacchus are perhaps the most remarkable.

It must be observed that when the head of a divinity had superseded the mere symbol as a monetary type, the former type did not always disappear, but became secondary,† being either grouped round the head of the deity on the principal side of the coin, like the dolphins round the head of Proserpine on the coin of Syracuse, or transferred to the reverse like the rose of Rhodes, or the bull of the coins of Sybaris, which last originally occupied the obverse, and had an *incused* impress of the same figure on the back; but after the adoption of the head of Minerva as the principal type, on account as some suppose, of the alliance with the Athenians, the old national type of the bull was transferred to the reverse, the art of making both sides of the coin perfect having been attained at that period.

* Its removal is recorded upon Roman coins in an interesting manner, to be spoken of in describing the Roman series.

† See page 208, on obverses and reverses.

As examples of the finest treatment of some of the heads of this class of types, the following may be cited. The Proserpine on the coins of Syracuse, of Jupiter Ammon on those of Cyrene; the Minerva on the coins of Thurium and Corinth; that of Arethusa on the coins of Clazomene; the Apollo on those of Rhodes and on Carian coins; the Juno on those of Argos; and the Jupiter on the coins of Tarentum, on late coins of Macedonia, and on the well-known coin of Antigonus; and the Dodonæan Jupiter on the fine coin of Pyrrhus: but the four last-mentioned belong rather to the regal series than to the autonomous coins I am now treating of.

The reverses of Greek autonomous coins after both sides received perfect impressions are very various. Among the most striking perhaps are the bigæ and quadrigæ of the Sicilian coinages, the Carthaginian emblems of the horse and palm tree, on coins supposed to have been engraved for that people by Greek artists, the lyre on Lycian coins, the dolphins, and wolf on those of Argos, &c.

THIRD PERIOD OF GREEK TYPES.

Though I have divided the style of types in classes for the sake of more convenient description, the styles thus fixed to different epochs were attained so gradually, and at such different periods in different places, that the arrangement must be regarded as somewhat arbitrary.

A class of devices or types which I assign to a third period, are those representing semi-divine personages, whose actions were mixed up with the early history or foundation of states. Among these may be mentioned the gracefully executed figure of the hero Leucaspis on coins of Syracuse; the Ajax on the coins of the Opuntian Locris; the hero Byzas, the founder of Byzantium; Phœnicai slaying Hype-rochus on the coins of the Æneanes, a people of Thessaly; and Taras, the founder of Tarentum, on the coins of that city: all these examples are small full-length figures, offering a striking contrast to the large boldly executed heads described above.

The biga and quadriga types referred to before are sup-

posed to have been first adopted in allusion to the Olympic games. Alexander the Great was said to have ridiculed his father Philip for placing a biga on his famous issue of gold staters, in allusion to his victories in the chariot races. The quadrigæ on the Sicilian medallions have sometimes the inscription ΑΘΛΑ, (prizes) in the exergue or lower portion of the coin, above which appear several pieces of rich armour; and Colonel Leake in his learned work on the coins of Syracuse, is of opinion that many of these coins were struck at the periods of games held in honour of particular deities, the head of the deity occupying the obverse of the coin, while a magnificent quadriga, the horses at full gallop, occupied the reverse. The larger coins, or medallions, the author appears to consider, were possibly struck on purpose to pay to the victor the amount of the award bestowed. A luxurious mode of presenting a money prize which was worthy of Greek refinement. The *third* period may be said to extend from the period of Pericles of Athens, to Pyrrhus king of Epirus, for the heads of deities and heroic types continued their hold on the coinage for some time after the portraits of princes were partially introduced, and the period comprised within those epochs is that of the finest Greek art as applied to the coinage, both for skill and variety, an immense number of types appearing which were unknown to the earlier stages of the art.

FOURTH PERIOD OF GREEK TYPES.

A fourth class of types may be formed into a separate group, as marking the *transition* from the head of a deity to that of a sovereign, as the principal type of national coinages. Of this class are those types, which, under the attributes of a deity, present the features of a sovereign; such are supposed to be the portraits of Alexander the Great, in the character of Hercules, and Jupiter Ammon; that of Lysimachus, with the attributes of the horned Bacchus; that of Seleucus, with the horns of a bull, &c.* These are generally considered the first attempts to introduce a human

* See chapter on coins of the Seleucidæ.

portrait on the public coinage. It is well known, as a general rule, that no positive portraits of princes are found on any coinage, till after the death of Alexander the Great; the erection of even an *iconic*, or *portrait statue* to Miltiades, after the great Athenian victory, being considered an extraordinary event. But there are, nevertheless, a few examples of an earlier period, which throw a doubt on this position, as a rule without exception. For instance, coins of the kings of Pæonia, cotemporary with Philip, the father of Alexander, bear a head on the obverse, which is decorated with a regal fillet, or bandlet, and which has no accompanying symbol of a deity. Coins of similar character were also issued by one or two kings of Macedonia, before the reign of Philip; but these heads may after all be those of deities, as a bandlet of that description is an occasional attribute of more than one divinity. Again, the correct attribution of these coins is not *certain*, and they may belong to princes subsequent to the time of Alexander, of similar names.* In fine, as a general rule, it may be safely assumed, that no positive portraits appear on coins till after the death of Alexander the Great, those portraits of this prince without divine attributes, which were formerly supposed to be of his time, being now clearly proved to belong to a much later period, and to have been struck in honour of his memory.

To about this period, that of Alexander the Great, belong also the fine heads personifying cities, such as those on the coins of Smyrna, Damascus, and many other Greek cities in the east, which are personified by a female head, wearing a turretted crown; the more ancient devices becoming subordinate, or occupying the reverse, or becoming altogether superseded by a sitting figure of a deity; similar to the sitting Jupiter on the silver coinage of Alexander; this figure is most commonly Minerva sitting or standing, round which the inscription appears, which never, or very rarely, accompanies the head on the obverse.

* The supposed portraits of Evagoras, King of Cyprus, may be especially mentioned. See Coins of Cyprus.

FIFTH PERIOD OF GREEK TYPES.

After the death of Alexander the Great, the powerful leaders who had aided him in founding the vast Macedonian empire, portioned it out into kingdoms for themselves. Antigonus first assumed the title of King of Asia, and then Ptolemy, who obtained Egypt for his share, assumed the title, *Basileus* (king), on his coins, and afterwards boldly placed his portraits upon them. Seleucus, who obtained Syria, and a large portion of Central Asia as his share, has left but one or two coins, which are supposed to bear his portrait; but his successor at once imitated Ptolemy in this respect: and while Lysimachus appears to have contented himself with the appearance of his features under the attributes of the horned Bacchus, Demetrius Polyorcete, who eventually succeeded him in Macedonia, struck coins bearing his own portrait; a custom, by that time so firmly established, that even the petty princes of small districts in Asia, assumed the privilege, which was about the same time adopted also by Hiero, King of Syracuse, and his successors.

This must have been a great blow to the religious feelings of the Greeks, who viewed with extreme jealousy the assumption of privileges by these princes, which they had ever considered exclusively devoted to the gods. Their proudly democratic feelings revolted at the idea of any assumption of superiority; and it has been suggested, that the iconic or portrait statue voted to Miltiades, after the great victory at Marathon, may have been in some degree the cause of his subsequent disgrace.

But the Greeks of the age of Alexander, were no longer those of Salamis and Plataea, and they submitted. The Athenians even allowed the semi-barbaric king of Pontus, during his war with the Romans, to strike money at Athens, with an inscription intimating that it was issued by his sanction.

PORTRAITS OF CELEBRATED MEN ON THE GREEK COINAGE.

Subsequent to the age of Alexander, and as the ancient types became less and less venerated by states and cities deprived of nearly all liberty, except the name, it became customary to place the portrait of celebrated men on the public coin. For instance, Smyrna, Amastris, and the island of Chios, each claiming to be the birth-place of Homer, struck coins bearing his portrait. The Mityleneans, of whose island the celebrated Sappho was a native, struck coins bearing a head wearing the mitra, a head-dress given to the Muses, which is no doubt the portrait of Sappho mentioned by Pollux, as existing on coins of that island, some of which bear portraits of Theophanes, the historian.

The coins of Teos have the portrait of Anacreon playing on the lyre; and the portrait of Euclid, the pupil of Socrates, is found on the coins of Megara.

On coins of Cos, the celebrated physician, Xenophon, of Cos, appears, and on the reverse, he is complimented by the presence of the goddess of health, Hygieia.

These portraits, as not being cotemporary, lose much of their interest, but they were, no doubt, executed from well authenticated originals; the heads of Homer agreeing exactly with the well-known marble bust which has come down to us inscribed with his name.

Coins bearing portraits of this description, have occasionally been of great service in determining the name of a portrait bust, which, though evidently done from life, either directly, or as a copy from an original that was, from being unaccompanied by a name, could not be identified; while a coin bearing the identical head, accompanied by an inscription, revealed the name of the personage whose portrait has been thus preserved through the lapse of ages.

OF THE MINOR TYPES ON GREEK COINS.

I have already spoken of *secondary* types in my second chapter; but the minor types are quite distinct from those, the secondary types being in most cases nothing

more than the original types of the state, removed from the first to a secondary position, while the minor types occur in such variety as to prove that they are extra national, unless, like the *mint-marks* of modern coinage, they are mere arbitrary marks to denote certain coinages. But this view does not appear entirely satisfactory, when we find frequently in these minor types the old national types of many other states. On the Athenian coinage of a certain period these minor types are very numerous and various, among which are the rose of Rhodes, the lyre of Lycia, the lion of Miletus, &c., which would rather seem to indicate a monetary understanding with the states whose types were thus used. The coins of Rhodes and other places, also present small extraneous types of this description, which, though most abundant on the far circulating coinage of Athens, are yet found on the money of many other states, especially in the Sicilian coinage and those of Magna Græcia, among which the coins of Metapontum afford a vast number of very beautiful lesser types, in addition to the grand national type of the ear of barley. Carelli has engraved a great number of these lesser types separately, on account of their beauty. The silver coins of Alexander the Great, struck in Asia, have very frequently, in addition to his well known types of the head of Hercules and the sitting Jupiter, minute accompanying types of this description, which in that case, however, have a somewhat different import, as they are supposed to indicate the various cities where they were struck. Those with the sphinx are attributed to Chios; those with the griffon to Teos or Abdera; those with the lion's head in profile to Cyzicus or Cnidus; those with the horse's head to Egea in Cilicia; those with the bee to Ephesus; with the rose, to Rhodes; with the anchor, to Ancyra; with the double axe, to Tenedos; with the torch, to Amphipolis in Macedonia, &c.

OF COUNTERMARKS ON GREEK COINS.

The small types called countermarks are quite different from such as have just been described above, and were evidently struck on the coin after it had left the mint, possibly

by a state receiving a quantity of foreign coin, and thus stamping it with its own national type to guarantee its currency, as equal to the native coin or at a fixed rate, much as the Spanish dollars were countermarked at the mint for circulation in this country during the scarcity of silver in the reign of George the Third. The Greek countermarks are frequently struck in the most beautiful part of the original types, as in the middle of the cheek of a fine female head, for instance; a piece of barbarism for which it is difficult to give the artistic Greeks credit, unless it was intentionally done to show the superior value and importance of their own national types.

The coin given below, as affording an example of the



countermark, is of copper, and issued in Seriphus, a Greek island. It bears the head of Medusa on one side, that of Perseus on the other; Danaë having arrived in that isle with her infant son Perseus, and being well received by the king Polydecte; in consequence of which tradition the islanders may have erected temples to this hero, as at Argos, Athens, and Mycene. The countermark is a thunderbolt, which, as it is the type of several places, it would be impossible to specify the precise one to which it belongs; but it answers equally well as an example of the system of countermarks.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE INSCRIPTIONS ON GREEK COINS—BOTH AUTONOMOUS
AND REGAL.

IN the present short chapter on the inscriptions found on Greek coins, I shall endeavour to discuss the subject with some attention to chronological order, leaving those Greek inscriptions which belong to the period when the Greek states had become Roman provinces, to be described separately under the head of *Imperial Greek*, when treating of the coins of the Roman empire. For want of this systematic arrangement many elementary works are calculated to confuse the student and prevent his acquiring a clear and distinct notion of the gradual development of the mode of inscription adopted on the Greek coinage. For instance, when the titles, ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΙ (autonomous), ΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ (of the Metropolis), ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ (of the curators of the temple), ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ Α ΑΣΙΑΣ (of Ephesus, the first city of Asia),* &c., all belonging to the Roman period, are given miscellaneously in an elementary work along with the simple inscriptions of the periods of Greek independence, it is impossible that the student should not form a false estimate of the nature of such inscriptions, as well as of the period of their use. I shall, therefore, as far as possible, adopt a strictly chronological arrangement, terminating the subject in the present chapter with the latest inscriptions that belong to the various Greek states during the period of their independence, whether as republics or sovereignties, and reserving those which belong to the period of their subjection to Rome to be treated of, when describing the coins of the Roman empire, except where comparison of different epochs and manners may appear advantageous or instructive.

* For description of Greek inscriptions of the Roman period, see article on Imperial Greek Coins.

The inscriptions one would naturally expect to find on the earliest coinage, would be indications either of weight or value, but such is not the case on the coinage of Greece or any of her colonies; and it was reserved for the strong common sense of the Romans, to adopt this apparently obvious course, to be described in its proper place. The imaginative Greeks were more occupied with the fame of their respective cities, and with the mythic legends connected with their foundation; and we consequently find their earliest money impressed with some symbol relative to the especial worship established, or to the name of the city, received from some circumstance connected with its early mythology, as Athens from Athena, the Greek Minerva, and Posidonia from Poseidon, the Greek Neptune: others being more indirectly derived through some circumstance arising out of the connexion of the tutelary deity with the early fortunes of the state, or from some attribute of the divinity, as Argos from Ἀργήεις, (light or shining), as symbolic of Apollo in his character of Φαίβος, or the sun.

Another peculiarity in the inscriptions of Greek coins, and one in which they differ from those of Rome, is, that the inscriptions, when they occur in full, are written in the genitive case, and most probably in the abbreviated forms the genitive case is implied also; while the inscriptions on Roman coins are almost invariably in the nominative case; and where the Athenians would place the word ΑΘΕΝΑΙΩΝ, *of the Athenians*, or, as implied, *money of the Athenians*, at Rome the name of the city, when it does appear, which is only previous to the Empire, occurs in the nominative case, as, simply, *Roma* (Rome). The same remark applies to the coins of princes as of cities; for while on the Greek coinage we find the name of Alexander the Great in the genitive case, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, "of Alexander," or "*money of Alexander*," on coins of the Roman Emperors the name occurs simply in the nominative case, and appears to refer merely to the portrait which it generally surrounds, as "Cæsar Augustus, son of the Divine Julius," on the coins of Augustus.

Greek monetary inscriptions, or *legends*,* as they are more

* Minute distinctions between *legends* and inscriptions on coins, are made

technically termed, begin in the most simple manner, and no coins of our time can convey any idea of them. At first, the *type* alone was considered sufficient identification; but as the invention of coinage spread, and more than one place adopted the same type, some farther distinction became necessary. Thus, on some of the earliest known coins of Phoea, we find the character Φ (*ph*) in addition to the type, being the initial letter of the name of the state—Phoea. On the early coins of Ægina, we find the three initial letters AIR* (*Aig*), as the A or AI of still earlier coins may have been found insufficient to distinguish the name from that of other places beginning with the same letters, when the number of states issuing coins increased. The city of Athens never, in the time of her independence, found it necessary to exceed the ΑΘΕ (*Athe*), the first three characters of its name; but at Syracuse we find, at an early period, the letters ΣΥΡΑ (*Syra*), and very soon afterwards, the name in full, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ (*Syrakosion*), in the genitive case, signifying “of the Syracusans,” or rather, “money of the Syracusans.” Many places, however, never placed the full name on the coinage till a very late period. Sovereigns placed their names on the coins after the same mode of progression, from a single letter, as the following examples will show; A, alone, is found on coins attributed to Archelaus, King of Macedon; on coins of the kings of Cyprus, about 370 B.C., Evagoras appears as ΕΥΑ (*Eva*); on those of Amyntas, King of Macedon, we find ΑΜΥΝΤ (*Amynt*); on those of Perdiccas, ΠΕΡΔΙΚ; and eventually, on those of Philip II. of Macedon, the name appears in full, as ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ (*Philippou*), in the genitive case, “of Philip,” the title, *king*, not being yet assumed, even by that powerful prince. But there are a few rare exceptions to this rule, as regards the coins of princes, and we find on the coins of Alexander I. of Macedon, which are as early as 480 or 500 B.C., the name in full, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ, the old form of the genitive case,† and on a coin attributed by Mr. Millingen to Gelas, King of the Edonians, who, from the appearance of the

by technical numismatists, which need not be referred to in an elementary work.

* The Greek mode of writing the name.

† As attributed by Mr. Borrell.

coin, may be considered a cotemporary of Alexander I., even the title of Basileus (king) is assumed.* But this is a rare exception; for even Alexander the Great, the son of Philip II., did not after his unparalleled conquests, assume the title of King on the public money, his coinage merely bearing his name, in the genitive case, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, "of Alexander," as understood, money of Alexander.

On the autonomous coinage, at a comparatively early period, the names of magistrates begin to occur, in addition to the name of the state, and that of Epaminondas, as a chief magistrate, connected with the direction of the coinage, is supposed to occur on a coin of Thebes, as ΕΠΑ; such names, however, appeared afterwards at full length, and at a still later period, with the title of archon, or that of some leading office superadded.

But to return to the earliest inscriptions, I may state that there are other characteristics, by which their relative ages may be approximately determined. One of the most marked peculiarities is the unsettled state of the Greek alphabet; some oriental characters being in use at a certain period which were afterwards abandoned. Of this, the most frequent and remarkable example is the use of the *koph* ϱ, instead of the *kappa*, Κ, which occurs on the coins of Crotona in Magna Græcia, and on the early coins of Corinth, of which I have engraved an example in Plate III.; the single character ϱ, as the initial letter of the name, being placed beneath the horse. On early coins of Achaia, Φ is found, which is the ancient form of Φ. The Greek *Rho* (our R) is found on coins of the very early period, written as Ρ; an approach to the Roman R, which together with the Φ for Φ, and the Λ for Α,† corroborates the assertion of Pliny that the Greek alphabet was originally the same as the Roman. Another peculiarity is one referring rather to position than form; the *sigma* (Σ), being placed on very early coins thus, Ϻ,‡ and the *epsilon* Ε, thus, Ϝ. The Π is also

* See Kings of Macedon.

† The Λ for Α is used at a later period on regal coins, to express the word *Λυκαβας* (year), which precedes the dates found on some of those coins.

‡ Μ is expressed on coins of Marmora by Ϻ, so the *sigma* and the *mu* appear to have changed places.

of singular form in the old inscriptions, being frequently found, especially on early coins of Magna Græcia, as Γ ; while the *theta* appears on coins to undergo many successive modifications, which are exhibited in an interesting manner on the early coins of Thebes in Bœotia. The very earliest of Bœotian coins have nothing to distinguish them but the well-known type, the buckler. The first trace of an inscription upon them is the single initial letter of the name written



for Θ ; it next becomes



then



and the last variation previous to the adoption of }
the perfect *theta*, is }



a very near approach to the finally adopted form.

A peculiarity existing at a rather later period, is that in which the genitive case of many words is formed with Θ , instead of Ω , as on the coin of Syracuse; the earliest, with the complete name, having $\Sigma\Gamma\text{PAKO}\Sigma\text{ION}$, and the latter $\Sigma\Gamma\text{PAKO}\Sigma\text{ION}$.

Another peculiarity to be noted occasionally in the inscriptions of early Greek coins, and some even not of the very earliest periods, is the custom of writing the legend from right to left in the oriental manner; of which the coins of the Greek city of Sybaris, in southern Italy, are an example. The two initial letters of the city stand thus rM , instead of Σr ; and must consequently be read, as we should say, backwards, taking care not to mistake Σ , placed M , for M . This ancient inscription is preserved on much more modern coins of Sybaris; while the name in full in modern characters appears on the other side of the coin.* The neighbouring city of Posidonia, will afford another example. The three initial letters of which stand MOM , instead of $\text{ΠO}\Sigma$; which, like the preceding, must be read from right to left, and the position of the *sigma* transposed. The practice of placing the inscriptions on coins to read from right to left was continued in the south of Italy and Sicily for some

* See Carelli's Coins of ancient Italy.

time after the ancient form of the characters had been abandoned; and may perhaps be accounted for by the close neighbourhood of the Oscan and Samnite dialect, which, being founded on the Phœnician, kept up the prevalence of oriental forms. An example of the later practice of writing from right to left, will be found in the coins of Cumæ, in Campania; the inscriptions of which stand NOIAMYK for KYMAION (of the Cumæans). And another instance is that of the coin of Himera, in Sicily, the inscription of which stands APEMI for IMEPA ; to which may be added coins of Campania, with Minerva on the obverse, and on the reverse the human-headed bull, and the inscription, ONAIMAK , for KAMPIANO ; apparently struck by a confederation of Campanian towns, for circulation in the whole of Campania. The transition appears to have been gradual, for on some coins the inscription is found from left to right on one side, and from right to left on the other, as upon Posidonian coins, of rather a later period than those above mentioned. These inscriptions stand ΠΟΞΕΙ , on the obverse; and on the other side, ΔΙΜΜΟΠ , for ΠΟΞΕΙΑ , both being abbreviations of ΠΟΞΕΙΔΟΝΙΩΝ , "of the Posidonians."

The inscriptions occasionally found on coins of the earliest periods, and termed *Boustrophedon*, are so termed, because they run like the furrows traced by an ox in ploughing a field; thus, after proceeding from left to right in the usual manner to the end of the first line, the inscription returns along the second from right to left, and then, in the third line, back again in the usual manner from left to right. It appears that this mode of writing was not confined to coins, but was also at a certain period made use of in inscriptions on marble, as the most usual mode of recording important public enactments; as we have seen in the "Parian Chronicle," a series of ancient Attic inscriptions on marble, now at Oxford, on which the celebrated passage relating to Phidon as the inventor of coined money, is referred to. The laws of Solon were also inscribed on marble tablets; and from a passage in Pausanias, it is believed that they were written in the *boustrophedon* manner, the lines running from left to right, and from right to left, alternately.

The only examples of Boustrophedon inscriptions on coins, for which I have room, are the following :—

On a coin of the Island of Tenedos.	{ TENEΔI NO }	for TENEΔION.	{ Money of the people of Tenedos.
On a coin of the Italo- Greek city of Neapolis, now Naples.	{ NEΟΠΟΛΙ ΞΑΤ }	for NEΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΣ.	
On a coin of Agrigentum in Sicily.	{ ΑΚΡΑΓ ΣΟΤΝΑ }	for ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΟΣ.	
On a coin of Acanthus in Macedonia.	{ ΑΚ ΝΑ }	for ΑΚΑΝ.	

Occasionally, though more rarely, the inscriptions began from right to left, returning from left to right, as on the coins of Rhaucus, in Crete :—

ΤΑΡ
ΚΙΩΝ } for ΡΑΥΚΙΩΝ.

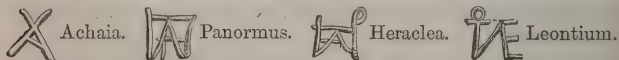
On Greek coins of the earlier periods, the name of the city varies in its spelling, and in the mode of making the genitive, according to the dialect. This circumstance occasions difficulties in ascertaining the precise import of some inscriptions, such as the greatest scholarship and general learning have been unable in all cases to unravel. The difficulties of this branch of the subject cannot be entered upon here, but a few examples of the variation of one or two names, according to the different dialects, may serve to exhibit to the student the nature of the difficulties he will have to encounter occasionally in endeavouring to interpret inscriptions of this class.

Take for example the Greek name of Syracuse, which in the Attic dialect is ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΑΙ, (SYRAKOUSAI), and which in the Ionic is ΣΥΡΗΚΟΣΑΙ, (SYREKOSAI), and in Doric ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΑΙ (SYRAKOSAI). In the genitive case, usually made use of in Greek coins, the Attic form of the name would make ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΙΩΝ, the Ionic ΣΥΡΗΚΟΥΣΙΩΝ, and the Doric ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. As the city of Syracuse was a Corinthian colony, and using the Doric or Peloponnesian dialect, that dialect is most commonly found on the Syracusan coinage. As exhibiting the necessity for some knowledge of the Greek

dialects, I may mention the existence of several towns of the same name in different districts, the coins of which cannot be respectively assigned except by the various dialects exhibited in the inscription; thus the coins with the inscription ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΑΤΑΝ, in the Doric dialect, are most probably of Apollonia in Illyria, a city of Doric origin, and could not be of Apollonia in Thrace, while those on the other hand inscribed ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΤΕΩΝ, could belong to no city where the Doric dialect was likely to be used. But these lingual indications are not afforded in cases where the initial letters only of the name occur.

In pursuing the progress of Greek inscriptions, it has been necessary to pass over a few peculiarities which gradually appeared, and developed themselves during the period I have just passed over. The first to be mentioned is that of certain cases in which the initial letter of the name of the state is made to form the principal type of one side of the coin, as is the case of some coins of Argos, in which a large A filling the entire field occupies the reverse of the coins like a principal type.

The next is the gradual appearance of monograms, which became pretty general about 350 B.C., and soon after that time nearly universal. Few coins appearing without them, especially the regal series about to be described. Few of these monograms have been satisfactorily described, but the annexed examples will show their general character. All the examples as yet interpreted exhibit the names of cities or states, but others probably contain the names of princes, magistrates, and dates, &c. Below are four specimens.



In the later times of their waning independence the most celebrated Greek cities occasionally placed the names of princes on their coinage, of which that of Athens offers a signal example. When Mithridates the Great, about 87 B.C., in his struggle with the Roman power, had caused an army to advance into Greece which was well received by Aristion, who had established a kind of despotism at Athens, Athenian money was struck with the inscription (in addition to the usual ΑΘΕ) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ, "the king Mithridates,"

and some in the genitive case, as actually—"of the king Mithridates." The name of the tyrant Aristion also appears upon the money. Similar instances of the gradual influence of despotic power on the autonomous coins of Grecian states as exhibited in the inscriptions, might be cited.

When the whole of Asiatic Greece was under the dominion of Alexander the Great and his successors the Seleucidæ, the native inscriptions, like the types, frequently shrunk into a secondary position,* a single letter, or a monogram, while those of the sovereign princes were written at full length. As examples of single letters being used at this period to indicate the name of the city, the national inscription thus shrinking again to its primitive dimensions, the coins of Damascus with Δ in the field may be cited.

A very interesting series of inscriptions remains to be alluded to, the import of which is of very modern discovery. These are such as ΚΙΜΩΝ—ΦΥΤΙΛΛΟΣ—ΕΥΑΙΝΕΤΟ, &c., found on some of the most finely executed coins of Syracuse. These names are now considered by all numismatists to be indisputably those of the accomplished artists who produced these exquisite specimens of engraving. They were long considered, like other secondary inscriptions, to be those of magistrates, but the manner in which they are placed upon the coins, when well considered, is ample proof that they do not bear an official character; for while the names, abbreviated or in full, of magistrates, are written in characters of the same size as those of the name of the state and placed in a conspicuous part of the field, those of the names in question are minute, and placed in the least conspicuous places, where indeed they might easily pass unobserved. That of Cimon, or more properly Kimon, for instance, appearing in small and delicately raised characters on the body of the dolphin under the head of Proserpine, on the fine Sicilian medallion in Plate V. That of Evainetus occurs on a small tablet held by the flying Victory over a quadriga. The names of Euclideas and Eumenes, also appear on the Sicilian coins, sometimes on a bandlet, a necklace, or

* Nearly all the Greek cities in Asia struck money during the reign of Alexander, on which the types and inscriptions of that prince hold the first place, while the native types only appear as miniature mint marks.

other ornament calculated to receive it, without disfiguring the general effect of the type. Evainetus placed his name on coins as small as the *pentalitron*, or drachma, and it is found sometimes on coins which have that of Eumenes on the other side.

The first name discovered on a coin, which was supposed to be that of the artist, was on a coin of Cydonia, in Crete, which has the inscription, ΝΕΥΑΝΘΡΣ ΕΠΟΕΙ (*sic*), "made by Neuanthus." An exquisite coin of Clazomene, in Ionia, was afterwards found with a small inscription, ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΕΠΟΕΙ, "made by Theodotus." M. Raoul Rochette next discovered, not by accident, but by careful research, that of Phrygillos, on a small Syracusan medallion, with the head of Arethusa. M. Rochette having discovered that the famous gem engraver of that name was probably a native of Syracuse, and considering that the same class of artists also engraved coins, was induced to make the researches which have led to the subsequent discovery of all the names above-mentioned; for the Syracusan series were soon ransacked by every numismatist after this discovery, and all the names above alluded to discovered in rapid succession.

In looking over several specimens of the coinage of several cities of Magna Græcia, I have observed similar inscriptions in smaller characters, which may prove also to be the names of engravers, especially those of the Eletans, or Hyeletans—one of which, with a beautiful full-face of Minerva, has the name ΚΛΕΥΔΩΡΟΣ on a band across the helmet; another, a profile of Minerva, has the name ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ also on a part of the helmet. Both these fine coins have on the reverse a lion holding in his mouth a club, with the inscription, ΤΕΛΗΤΩΝ.

In a chapter on Greek inscriptions it is hardly possible to pass over the subject of countermarks without observation; but it will be sufficient to state, that in the Autonomous period these marks generally consist of small types* instead of inscriptions, and that most of the coins, when inscriptions occur instead, belong to the Roman period.

* See end of chapter on Greek types, page 213.

INSCRIPTIONS ON GREEK COINS OF THE REGAL SERIES.

We have seen how the inscriptions on Greek coins originated, and how they gradually increased in fullness from their primeval brevity, both on coins of cities and on those of princes; how on those of the latter class the letter A alone was deemed sufficient on coins of Archelaus of Macedon; ERA on coins of Evagoras, King of Cyprus, followed by other gradations, until the name appears in full, which was generally about the time of Philip II., or perhaps rather before—those of Mausolus, King of Caria, being in full, as ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΛΟ (in the Doric form) of Mausolus. The title of Basileus (king) was not, however, yet placed on the public coinage.* Some have asserted that the title, Basileus, occurs in the inscriptions of the coins of Philip II. of Macedon; but the coins alluded to are those of his natural son, Philip Arrhidæus, who succeeded Alexander the Great, and reigned for a very short time. It was towards the close of the reign of Alexander that the Greeks first submitted to see a title of that description placed upon the public money; the early coins of the conqueror bearing simply the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, “of Alexander;” but afterwards, the title Basileus appears as—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, “of the King Alexander.” It is possible, however, that the coins bearing the title of King were not struck during the life of Alexander, for it is well known, that for sometime after his death, the great captains who eventually divided the empire, continued to strike money bearing his types; and it is possible, that with the intention of paving the way to their own ambitious views, they added the title of Basileus. Certain it is, that shortly afterwards, Antigonus assumed the title of King of Asia, which we find on his coins, as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ, “of the King Antigonus.” Shortly after, Seleucus, in Syria, Ptolemy, in Egypt, and Lysimachus, in Thrace, also assumed the regal title on their respective coinages, and the custom from that time became firmly established among the Greek sovereignties in Asia, Africa, and Europe. Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, and

* With one or two remarkable exceptions. See *ante*, page 224.

afterwards the family of Hiero, assumed the title in Sicily; even barbaric nations, such as the Gauls, newly settled in the district called after them Galatia, styled themselves kings on the coinage they issued.

The age of Greek liberty had passed, and one of submission and servile adulation had taken its place. The supreme title of king did not long remain in its simple form. Ptolemy of Egypt assumed upon his coins the title of *Soter*, "Saviour," bestowed upon him by the Rhodians, who had received great favours from him, and who, after consulting the oracle of Ammon on the propriety of conferring this high title, erected a temple to him as a god. When this title appears upon his coins, it is generally unaccompanied by that of "king," being, says Visconti, greater than king. Cicero says, speaking of the word *Soter* (σωτήρ), that it is so great that it cannot be translated into any *one* Latin word; it would seem that it should be read *Saviour-God*. It had previously been applied only to the gods, in cases where special services were believed to have been afforded to a state by a particular deity, as in the case of the head of Diana with the inscription *Soteira* found on the coins of Syracuse, as a "saviour-goddess." The title, however, became far from uncommon on coins of princes from the time of Ptolemy I. to the Christian era, as also that of god—Θεός (*Theos*); the profiles of Ptolemy and Berenice on coins struck by their son Ptolemy Philadelphus, being accompanied by the short inscription, ΘΕΟΙ (*gods*): indeed, from this epoch we may trace the idea of kings "by Divine right." The effigies of gods alone had been placed on the public coinage before the time of Alexander, and it was only as Hercules, or the son of Ammon, that he could appear on the coinage. On the establishing of independent kingdoms by his generals, they each assumed descent from some deity—Seleucus from Apollo, Lysimachus from Bacchus, &c.—claiming thus by divine descent, or right, their place on the public money. Additions were soon made even to these high titles, in the shape of such epithets as *Nicator*, the victorious, *Epiphanes*, illustrious, *Theopator*, whose father is a god, &c. Eventually many of these titles are found in the same inscription, as on the coins of Antiochus III., King of Syria,* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ

* See coins of the Seleucidæ.

ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥ (of the King Antiochus, the god, the illustrious). On the coins of some of the Lagidæ and Seleucidæ, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ is added to other titles, implying that the sovereign equals that divinity in youth and beauty.* Some of the titles, are however, more modest—ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, “of the just”—ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ, “of the beneficent”—ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ, “of the lover of his brother,” &c. On coins of the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacidæ, the epithet ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ, “lover of the Greeks,” figures among the inscriptions of the coinage, as on the coins of Ariobarzanes and Ariarathes, Kings of Cappadocia, and of Maumus, King of Arabia, ΦΙΛΟΡΩΜΑΙΟΥ, “lover of the Romans.”

On the Parthian coins, as the Greek influence gradually gave way to more oriental forms, the most magniloquent inscriptions are found, of which one example must suffice, which occurs on a coin of Arsaces XII., it stands—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΗΤΟΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ, “of the king of kings, Arsaces, the great, the just, the beneficent, the illustriously born, the lover of the Greeks.” The title *Megalos*, great, is very frequently superadded, but for further examples of remarkable inscriptions the student is referred to the chapters of the various regal dynasties, where many others will be found.

A peculiarity to be noted in the inscriptions of the later regal coins is the nearly universal adoption of the square *sigma* $\sqcap$ instead of Σ , which is very frequently found almost in the form of the Roman C. It is also worthy of remark, that very soon after the establishment of the various Greek kingdoms by the generals of Alexander the Great, a more decorative style of writing was adopted on coins, the letters termed by numismatists *nailed* letters coming into use about that period. They have the addition of a small knob at the extremities in the manner shown in the annexed *epsilon*, Ε

The most interesting and valuable peculiarity of the inscriptions of the regal class of Greek coins is the dates by which they are frequently accompanied. The dates are expressed by numerals formed of Greek letters, as the Roman numerals are by Roman letters, and refer to several

* See coins of the Lagidæ, Seleucidæ, &c.

epochs—that of the foundation of the Seleucidan monarchy in Syria, for instance ; the Pontic era, which is that of the first accession of the regal power of the kings of Pontus, formerly satraps of the Persian empire ; sometimes that of the year of the prince's reign, or that of the battle of Actium, which latter, however, belongs rather to the Roman period. The following is a list of Greek numerals :—

<i>Units</i> . . . {	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Σ	Ζ	Η	Θ
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<i>Tens</i> . . . {	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ϟ
	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90
<i>Hundreds</i> . {	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω	π
	100	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	900

These numerals are sometimes preceded by the character Λ, the ancient form of Α, expressing the word *year*, being the initial of *Λυκαβας* ; and sometimes by Ε for ΕΤΟΡΣ. Thus, on the coins of Ptolemy Philadelphus, we find Λ. ΑΓ, expressing the year 33 of his reign. By the same means of numbering, 240 would be ΣΜ, and 245 ΣΜΕ, &c.

The following are some of the eras from which dates on coins of the period in question are dated :—

The Pontic era, dated from *the accession* to regal power of the race of the Kings of Pontus and the Bosphorus, B.C. 301.*

The Seleucidan era, from the establishment of the Syrian Empire by Seleucus Nicanor,† October 1st, B.C. 312.

The era of the battle of Actium, B.C. 29. The dates on the Ptolemæic series generally refer to the year of the king's reign.

There are several other eras too numerous to particularise in an elementary work, but I must not omit to state that about this period, dates are found on autonomous as well as regal coins, and that many of the cities founded by Alexander and his successors, placed dates upon their coins which refer to the epoch of their foundation. These dates on the coins of towns are sometimes, though seldom, preceded by Λ or Ε as on regal coins ; and another peculiarity respecting them is, that the lower number is placed first, and the highest second, as on

* See coins of secondary dynasties.

† See chapter on coins of the Seleucidæ.

coins of Antioch M (40) and Δ (4)—standing thus, ΔM , to express 44. A coin, though properly belonging to the Roman period, may here be cited for the illustration; it is one of Pompeiopolis, having the head of Aratus on one side, and that of Chrysippus on the other,* with the date $\Theta.\text{K.C.}$ (229) instead of $\text{C.K.}\Theta$. The *unit* being placed first, the *decimal* second, and the *centenal* last. It is also to be observed that in dates of the later periods the *sigma* Σ , 200, is expressed by the square sigma $\sqsubset$ thus; sometimes nearly like a Roman C, as in the example just given.

I have only treated of inscriptions in the Greek language in the foregoing portion of this chapter, which form, indeed, the great bulk of monetary inscriptions previous to the Roman period. Other nations not having copied the Greek invention of coined money, until a period when the coinage of that people had already attained to a very advanced stage of its progress. The following is a list of languages found on ancient coins previous to the Roman period, all of which are more recent than the earliest Greek:—

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Greek | 9. Hebrew |
| 2. Phœnician | 10. Samaritan |
| 3. Punic | 11. Persian or Pehlvi. Early |
| 4. Celtiberian | Persian between Doric |
| 5. Etruscan | period and Alexander. |
| 6. Oscan | 12. Arian |
| 7. Samnite | 13. Barbarous dialects. |
| 8. Bilingual Inscriptions | |

1. Of the Greek inscriptions sufficient has been said.

2. The Phœnician inscriptions are found on the coins of Tyre and other Phœnician towns, about the period of Alexander, and are sometimes accompanied by Greek inscriptions. The Phœnician alphabet has been sufficiently made out to decypher the names of towns with some degree of certainty, but ignorance of the language has hitherto prevented the explanation of any other words.

The Punic, the language of Carthage, is a dialect of the

* The custom of placing the heads of celebrated men on the coinage does not belong to the period of Greek independence, or, at all events, only to its latest phase, as shown in the Chapter on types.

Phœnician, and is found on the money of that republic, none of which dates earlier than the best period of the art as developed in Sicily, where indeed most of the Carthaginian money is supposed to have been coined by Greek artists, though some is considered to have been struck in Africa, at Carthage. Of the Punic, as of the Phœnician, little more than the alphabet is known, and that imperfectly, so that little can be said in this place, as even the names of towns written in the Punic character cannot be read with certainty; but something on the subject will be found in the chapter on Greek coins of the finest period,—article, Carthage.

3, 4. The Celtiberic language appears to be a mixture of the Punic, the original Phœnician, the Greek, and perhaps some of the native dialects of Spain: it is confined to the coinage of that country, which belongs wholly to a comparatively recent period*. (See coins of Spain.)

5, 6, and 7. The Etruscan, Oscan, and Samnite languages are found on coins of central Italy, which generally belong to the Roman series, and to be there described, but occasionally inscriptions in these languages, at all events the latter, occur on coins of Greek cities of southern Italy, previous to their subjection to Rome; in some instances in conjunction with Greek inscriptions, and these bilingual legends have been of great service in aiding to decypher the Oscan and Samnite characters. But even the alphabet of these languages is but imperfectly made out, and nothing further is known. They are all Pelasgic dialects allied to the Phœnician, and were the only languages of Southern Italy, prior to the arrival of the earliest Greek colonies in the south of the Peninsula. But as they only learned the art of coining from the Greeks, no coinage with inscriptions in these dialects exists till a comparatively late period of the Greek occupation of the country, though the language occurs occasionally, but rarely, on very early coins of the Greek colonies.†

8. *Bilingual inscriptions* occur on Greek coins of many periods. The earliest are probably the Samnite and Greek

* With the exception of the Greek colonies, alluded to elsewhere.

† See Carelli's plates of the coins of ancient Italy.

legends on some early coins of Magna Græcia. The next in succession are the Punic and Greek legends on the coins of the Carthaginian portion of Sicily: at a later period, the Phœnician and Greek inscriptions on the coins of Tyre, after its re-establishment by Alexander the Great, and on some other coins of Greek cities of that district of Asia. The latest examples are those Greek and *Arian* and other Indian and Scythian dialects, on the Greek series generally, known as coins of Bactria.*

9 and 10. *Hebrew and Samaritan inscriptions* are only found on the series of Jewish coins, issued by the Maccabees, and their successors in Judea.†

11. *Persian or Pehlvi inscriptions* are found on the coinage of the Sassanidæ, the Persian princes who overthrew the Græco-Parthian power in Central Asia.‡

12. *Arian inscriptions*, and inscriptions in other Indian and Scythian dialects, are found accompanied by Greek ones on the coins of the Bactrian series.§

13. Barbarous and unexplained dialects are found occasionally on rude coins of Spain, and on coins of districts bordering the Thracian Bosphorus, but which possess little historical interest and none as regards art.

* See chapter on Greek coinage in Bactria.

† See the Shekel and other coins of the Jews.

‡ See coins of the Sassanidæ.

§ See coins of Bactria.

CHAPTER XIX.

GREEK ART, AS DISPLAYED ON THE COINAGE.

THE history of art in its highest form, that of personifying the highest conceivable qualities of divinity and humanity, originated in the noblest feelings of which the nature of man is capable—those of religious aspirations. When the thinking power of man first acquired sufficient consistency to perceive and to examine the wonderful framework of the universe, then arose his conviction of the existence of some unlimited power or powers by which such a vast combination could have been effected.* His ideas of Deity then arose, and in any striking deviation from the ordinary course of natural laws, the hand of divine direction was at once inferred. Hence eclipses, the appearance of comets, the grand effect produced by thunder and lightning, and other natural phenomena, were considered immediate signs of the divine language, in which the mighty will of the Gods was made known, and various interpretations given, according to the habits or degrees of civilisation of different races.

But one phenomenon far beyond any other, as its effects did not disappear like that of a comet or a thunder-storm, seems more especially to have influenced the most noble of the fine arts, that of sculpture. This was the fall of aerolites, an extraordinary phenomenon, which in a certain stage of man's mental development could not fail to be invested with a mythic character; and the positive presence of the local deity was thought to be expressed in the fall of these masses of stone from the heavens. Stone worship thus arose in the East. Venus was first worshipped at Paphos under the form of a conical stone, no doubt an aerolite, a record of which is preserved on the Greek coinage of the Imperial or Roman period. The Juno of

* The Gentile nations are here alluded to, and not those races who received their ideas of primitive creation from the books of Moses.

the Thespians and the Diana of Icaria were likewise worshipped under the form of masses of stone, and the famous Syrian divinity, El Gabal (*the stone*), carried to Rome with great pomp by Eliogabalus,* was the origin of the surname of that Emperor, who established a temple at Rome for the worship of the eastern divinity.

A column of stone was long used by the primitive Greeks as a representation of a deity, and the statue, which it eventually became, received the name of its prototype, the mere column of stone being called *κιων* (*kiōn*).

The twin Dioscuri, we are told, were at Sparta represented by two columns of stone or wood joined together by a transverse piece; and the first effort, it would seem, to give more effect, was carving the upper portion into the rude resemblance of a head. The first attempt to improve this first rude type of the embryo statue was the indication of the arms and hands, and the legs and feet, which were, not, however, till long after separated from the main mass; and the bold innovator, who first effected the gigantic stride in the art of sculpture which detached the arms from the block and separated the legs, was said to be Dædalus, a semi-fabulous personage, to whom works were attributed in full faith in the time of Pausanias. In consequence of the improvements attributed to him, the ancients describe the works of Dædalus as distinguished by an appearance of life, and even divine inspiration. The stiff statuary of Egypt will convey a tolerably correct idea of the style of art immediately preceding that attributed to Dædalus, which was still in practice as late as 500 B.C., and the Greek art, generally termed *archaic*,† was no doubt of this class.

Art at that time was hereditary in certain families, and many practising this style claimed to be direct descendants of Dædalus. This genealogy of art was accepted in the time of Socrates, the great philosopher but wretched sculptor, who claimed to be a Dædalid.

* The name of Elgabalus is also spelt Heliogabalus, and is thought by some to be derived from his having been a priest in the temple of the Sun.

† The term *archaic*, though strictly meaning nothing more than *old*, is generally applied to that period of Greek art in which a certain treatment and formality marks its transition from the rude character of its earlier efforts to the bold freedom of the Phidian age.

It has been said that it is futile to attempt to trace the descent of art from one nation to another, because certain resemblances may be traced in its earlier stages, which must of necessity be similar in all nations; as the earliest works of the Chinese or Japanese, would in their rude first efforts, of necessity, resemble those of the primitive Greeks, as much as they undoubtedly do those of the Polynesian or American savages: yet, we may undoubtedly trace in neighbouring nations which have been closely connected by colonisation or kindred, a kind of hereditary lineage in art which cannot be disproved. And in this way, Greek art, however superior, must be acknowledged to be an offshoot of the Egyptian. Egyptian civilisation, as far as we have the means of knowing, preceded that of all other countries * with which the Greeks and the nations of Western Asia held intercourse, and it seems plain from the recent discoveries in Assyria, at Nimroud, and Khorsabad, that the style of art of those countries was immediately derived at a certain period of its development, from that of Egypt. But native elements combining with it, especially those which endeavoured to give it a more servilely natural aspect, gave to it at the same time a national character, very distinct from that of the more imaginative and architectonic character of that of the Egyptians. From this Assyrian art it appears probable that the arts of Lydia and Caria took their particular tone, from whence the Asiatic Greeks derived the means of stepping from the first rude attempts of semi-barbarous art to that more advanced stage, at which it appears upon the earliest coins. That the Lydians and other nations were much more advanced in this art than the Greeks at the time of Homer, we learn from several passages in his poems.

The mode of treating the limbs of the human figure on the earliest Greek coins, exhibits strong evidence of this origin of Grecian art, especially the sharp deep marking of the muscles of the legs and arms. Of this, the strongest evidence may be obtained by close examinations of some of the earliest coins of Macedonia, such as No. 10, Plate II., Nos. 9, and 2, Plate IV., and the symbolic treatment of the lion

* The claims of the Chinese to extreme antiquity being placed out of the present question, as utterly distinct.

and the bull of Nos. 2 and 3, Plate I., and No. 10, Plate IV., which strongly resemble the leading characteristics of Assyrian and Babylonian sculpture. That such should be the case is very natural, when we take into consideration the close neighbourhood of the Asiatic colonies of Greece with those nations; and that the progress of the arts in Greece proper, even up to a certain epoch, was led by that of the artistic development taking place in her Asiatic colonies, appears also more than probable.

But though it seems likely that we must assign an Asiatic origin to the arts of Greece, yet we must, at the same time, at once concede that the simple and yet grand mode of treatment which the Hellenic organisation communicated to these arts, eventually invested them with a sublimity of character that art never attained in any other nation of antiquity, and which all the refinements of civilisation have, as yet, not enabled any modern nation to attain.

The earliest types of Greek coins possess in their embryo state the element of sublimity, which afterwards distinguished the greatest works of her greatest artists. This consists in the one-mindedness, the simplicity, with which they are conceived and executed. Simplicity is the great stamp of genius, and genius the leading characteristic of the Grecian mind. It was in the simplicity of genius that Grecian artists acquired those secrets of art at once so complete, and so difficult of acquirement, and which arose from that beautiful constitution of mind which views all things in their clear and naked unity. The exquisite repose of Grecian art arises from this quality—true genius is calm, because it is confident,—and confident, because it is strong. It is mediocrity which, in its ineffectual but continual effort, loses that beautiful repose necessary to high art, and becoming troubled in its purpose, exaggerates expression, multiplies means, and squanders accessories, till all calm, all repose, in short, all of that great ingredient of the highest art—simplicity, is lost.

How finely we see this grave simplicity exemplified, even through the rugged execution of the lion's head on the gold stater of Melitus (Pl. I., No. 1), in the seal on the Phocæan coin, No. 6, in the same plate,—how the execution of that simple image is filled alone with, and possessed by, its

subject. By thus acting simply, genius reserves to itself all its spontaneous freedom and originality, and all its native vigour, for real execution, instead of wasting it in vain contortions, and the pursuit of some more complicated vision, which, if accomplished, would not speak to the spectator with that singleness of expression, that oneness of aspect, which rivet the immediate attention, even of the vulgar, and constitute, in short, the secret of the sublime in art.

To speak of these early works as possessing anything more than the germ of this high quality would be absurd, but that they do possess that germ in a very remarkable manner, is equally evident.

Let us turn to the simple tortoise, on the early silver drachma or didrachma of Ægina, (Pl. II., Nos. 1, 2, 3,) and we shall see the same grand quality displayed, while in the rude groups of the Macedonian coins of Lete, (Pl. II., No. 4; and Pl. IV., No. 9,) we have the grandeur and simplicity in a rude form of execution, which subsequently characterised those groups of Centaurs and Amazons, with which the matchless chisel of Phidias afterwards enriched the famous metopes of the Parthenon.

The advance of art in Greece was most rapid; from the period of the battle of Salamis to the age of Phidias, scarcely fifty years elapsed, and yet in that period art had emerged from archaism to the highest pitch of excellence it has ever attained.

Archaism, though the intrinsic value of the term means merely old, is in art, generally meant to express that transition from the rude to the excellent, which generally exhibits itself in a greater power of execution, which is at first confined to more careful manipulation alone; the result of which, is a curious neatness of execution accompanied by great stiffness, to which, in modern art, the quaint but not unpleasing works of the fifteenth century may be compared. Of this quaintness of style, termed archaic in classical art, the coin of Gelas, Plate V., affords a good example; or the head of Minerva on the drachma of Methymne, (Pl. IV. No. 8;) or in a ruder form, the head of the same deity on the Athenian coin, No. 7, on the same Plate; but the coinage does not afford so many existing examples of this phase of Greek art, though many more might be cited, as do the remains of Greek

sculpture in marble, especially the pediments of temples, with all their sculptural decorations arranged as *in situ*, now in the British Museum, which, being discovered in Ægina, have caused that phase in the progress of the art to be termed by some, "the school of Ægina."

The remarkable style of the coins of Macedonia and Thrace about the time of Alexander, has, with some rudeness, nearly all the vigour of a later period.*

Every step from the rudeness of primeval art, through the quaint neatness of the archaic period, to the spiritual freedom of its highest epoch, may be observed on a well selected series of the coins of Acanthus, bearing the group of the lion and the bull. A coin of nearly, but not quite, the highest period of this type is engraved Pl. IV, No. 11.

Of Greek coins of the finest period it would be very difficult to point out a small number, as exhibiting all the greatest qualities of excellence; but the early promise of great perfection in the treatment of animals is fully borne out on coins of every class; and on the coins of the Greek colony of Heraclea, in southern Italy (Pl. V.), the group of Hercules and the Nemean lion, which appears in great variety of treatment on the coins of that city, is most admirable; especially the lion. The dolphin, or rather porpoise, which was the dolphin of the ancients, is treated with exquisite grace on the coins of Tarentum, and that group, of which it forms a part, is one of the most beautiful productions of ancient art; while the variety with which it is treated, (Carelli having engraved above thirty-six striking varieties of this single type,) shows the great facility with which these graceful inventions were thrown off by the Greek engravers—a facility which was rendered necessary by the nature of the process by which the impressions had to be produced. This peculiarity principally consisted in the want of knowledge of a means of hardening the dies, in consequence of which, only a limited number of impressions could be taken from each, so that the continual reproduction of the dies taxed the ingenuity of

* It is not wonderful that art of a bold and striking character should be found on coins of this period, when we consider that at the time of Alexander I., the great artists Onatas, Ageladas, and Polygnotus, already flourished in Greece, and that in Ionia the arts were still more advanced.

the Greek artists to the utmost. This, however, was not the case in the coinage of some particular states, such as Ægina and Athens, where the celebrity acquired by their coins in foreign countries caused the ancient types to be very strictly adhered to each time the dies were renewed.

For a notice of a series of Greek coins, all belonging to the finest periods of art, the reader is referred to Chap. VI., in which the coinage of Sicily figures as one of most remarkable excellence; indeed, the cities of Syracuse, Acragas, Catana, &c. in Sicily, and those of Thurium, Tarentum, Neapolis, Heraclea, Metapontum, &c., in the south of Italy, are by some considered to have produced more beautiful specimens of the art than any other city, either of Greece proper, or her celebrated Asiatic colonies, even the luxurious and refined Ionia.

When we examine the noble decadrachm of Syracuse, with the superb head of Proserpine or Ceres on the obverse,* and the magnificent quadriga on the reverse, the spirited and dashing grandeur of which is worthy of a Phidias or a Lysippus, we must acknowledge that nothing of the same fascinating character occurs on the coinage of the parent states of Greece. For example, the bigæ on the states of Philip of Macedon, though executed half a century later, and no doubt by the best artists that could be procured in Greece, are not for a moment comparable to the magnificent bigæ and quadrigæ of the Sicilian coinage.

A similar comparison may be drawn between the noble head of Pallas on the coins of Thurium, and that of the same deity on the coins of Athens, where the palm must certainly be ceded to the former.

But there are yet excellences observable on the coinage of Greece and the Asiatic colonies, which are of perhaps a higher character of art, though neither so elaborate or fascinating. The head of Jupiter on the finest didrachms of Philip of Macedon, for instance, is exceedingly grand, and that on the well known tetradrachm of Pyrrhus of Epirus, and above all, that on the celebrated tetradrachm of Anti-

* Most probably Proserpine; the name *Kore* occurring on some coins with that head, which implies *daughter* or *virgin*, as it also means "the pupil of the eye," affords the opportunity of punning passages in certain Greek authors, which Longinus has especially condemned.

gonus—all no doubt executed by Greek artists; the latter one is so fine as to defy rivalry, though neither in such high relief, so finished, nor of so early an epoch as the tetradrachms of Syracuse. The fine head of Diana on some of the finest coins of Ephesus, that of the human-headed bull on those of Arcanania, the device on the coins apparently struck by the Amphictyonic Council, the beautiful head of Juno on the coins of Argos, and the Pegasus on the coins of Corinth,—are examples of art in which the coinage of Greece may stand a comparison with that of her celebrated colonies in Sicily and Southern Italy. The exquisite manner in which the full face of Apollo is treated on coins of Amphipolis is another example of the excellence of Greek art in a peculiar phase, with which indeed Sicilian and Magna-Græcia examples cannot vie, for the front faces on coins of these colonies, are over-laboured, and do not exhibit the same bold and fearless relief as those of Amphipolis, which in their turn are perhaps surpassed by the head of Apollo on the coins of Mausolus, king of Caria; some which, all in front face, are of most remarkable beauty; while the same head treated in a similar manner on the coins of Rhodes, is also of great excellence, as well as the exquisite gold coins of Clazomene engraved in Plate V. The custom of representing a full face on the public coinage appears to have been abandoned after a short epoch, to which nearly all the above mentioned examples belong, on account of being subject to great wear in the most prominent features, which rapidly disfigured faces treated in that manner, while the principal wear upon profiles took place upon the hair, by the prominence of which the features of the face were protected.

Of the excellence and variety of the devices of the reverse of the Grecian coinage in general, the coins engraved in Plate V., and the list of types appended to the end of the chapter descriptive of that plate, will be sufficient evidence. They began to attain great excellence even before the art of coining had advanced beyond the period, where the square punch-mark is still visible on the back, and for an account of their progress at that period, the reader is referred to the chapter descriptive of Plate IV.

In addition to the principal types on Greek coins, it has

been seen that small secondary types were used, either as a mere "mint mark," or to denote commercial relations with the state whose monetary type was thus added. These small types became gradually more and more frequent, exhibiting in their treatment, about the period of Alexander the Great, a breadth and grandeur of style in every way equal to that of the large types, though occasionally so microscopic as to be scarcely noticeable by the naked eye. Those secondary types, used in the way of counter-marks, and impressed subsequently by another state to denote the acceptance for home circulation of a foreign coin, in the way that Spanish dollars were counter-marked with a small head of George III. during a scarcity of silver money in England, will be found treated of under the head of counter-marks both in the chapters on inscriptions and on types.

That the most skilful engravers were employed upon the dies for the public coinage of the Grecian states, is at once evident from the elegance of the designs, and the exquisite beauty, in many instances, of every department of the manipulation. From passages in Pliny and other ancient authors, it appears most probable that the same class of artists to whom we are indebted for antique engraved gems, both in relief and in intaglio, was also employed upon the dies used for striking coins; that these two styles of engraving both pertained to the same branch of art, was rendered more probable by the discovery, that the fine gem of Athenion, mentioned by Winkelman, was repeated on a Roman coin in the Alboni collection, and evidently by the same hand. This and other similar evidence induced M. Raoul Rochette and others to seek for similar coincidences on the Greek coinage. Phrygillos is the name of a Greek engraver, or sculptor of gems, whose name appears on the exquisite and well-known gem, the subject of which is Cupid issuing from an egg-shell. This name M. Rochette observed to be accompanied by a small sign, that of a cockle, such as is frequently found among the minor types of the coinage of Syracuse, from which circumstance M. Rochette concluded that Phrygillos might be a Syracusan artist. With this supposition in view, the collections of Syracusan coins were attentively examined, and the research was rewarded by the discovery of the name of Phrygillos on a

coin in the collection of Mr. Stewart, of Naples. This discovery led to that of the names of Kimon, Evainetus, and others—the occurrence of whose names on the Sicilian coinage is noticed in the chapter on inscriptions. This discovery of the name of the artists who executed the beautiful coinage of Greece and her colonies, is one of the most interesting episodes in the history of art, and to the perseverance and minute observation of the eminent numismatist M. R. Rochette we are entirely indebted for the discovery.

ART DISPLAYED IN GREEK REGAL COINS.

In describing a few of the leading artistic characters of the Greek coins in the foregoing pages of this chapter, the autonomous coins, or such as were issued by independent cities or republican states, have been chiefly alluded to. It remains now to offer a few remarks on the regal coinages of Greek origin and character; without doubt executed by Greek artists, and which were issued by the different sovereigns of Greek lineage, and some others, who established independent kingdoms out of the division of the Macedonian empire.

The first in rank as in number are those of Alexander the Great. His father, Philip, placed only simple effigies of the national divinities upon the public coinage, which may therefore rank, as far as art is concerned, with coins of republican states bearing similar types. But those of Alexander assume a somewhat different character, and the noble heads exhibited on his silver coinage belong rather to the class of personal portraiture. Whether an actual portrait is intended, idealised beneath the form and attributes of Hercules, or not, matters little—it is sufficient that the features are so marked—and so similar on a vast number of coins struck in widely distinct places, that they bear a certain character of human portraiture never before exhibited on the Greek coinage, which brings them within the range of that monetary portraiture, which is the main feature of the regal coinages. The mythological types by which such heads are generally accompanied on the reverse, are generally very inferior to those of a former period. It is evident therefore that the main atten-

tion was paid to the head of the prince, whether symbolised as a deity, or being an actual portrait. It appears the safer course to consider that such heads as those with the attributes of Hercules on the coins of Alexander, those with the symbols of the horned Bacchus upon the coinage of Lysimachus, and those with the horns of a bull on those of Seleucus Nicator, to be rather portrait-symbols than real portraits—a view which is favourable at the same time to the fine idealised character of art they exhibit: especially some of those of Alexander, which are occasionally of the very highest character. Many of the coins of Lysimachus are nearly equally fine; but those of Seleucus, which are very scarce, appear inferior to either of the preceding.*

Immediately following this first period after the death of Alexander, or in some instances contemporary with it, as in the case of Ptolemy I. king of Egypt, actual portraits were placed on the coinage; and among these, some of the finest specimens of monetary portraiture ever produced occur. Coins of the first Ptolemies—several of those of the Seleucidæ, down to Alexander Bala—of those of the kings of Bithynia and Pontus, as late as the time of Mithridates the Great, and of Macedonia, especially the two last kings of that state, Philip V. and Perseus—exhibit a gallery of metallic portrait sculpture which places the arts of the period in the most brilliant point of view. It would be impossible to fix a general period for the decline of Grecian art in the East, as its decay was more rapid in some districts than others; but about a century before the Christian era may be taken as a general epoch for the commencement of its gradual decline. After this epoch the coins of such dynasties as escaped the absorption by the wide-spread dominion of Rome, gradually sunk into comparative barbarism just as the monetary art of Rome began to rise; which is evidence that though the thralldom of Roman dominion prevented the application of fine art to governmental purposes in the Grecian world, that yet the race of Greek artists was not extinct, as we find among the greatest names connected with the development of Roman art, that the greater number are Greek.

* See Chapter on the coins of the Seleucidæ, the Lagidæ, and the coinage of Macedonia.

In concluding these somewhat desultory remarks on the art displayed on the Greek coinage, it may be observed that the time of its greatest perfection occurred probably about the age of Alexander the Great. The Greek states in Europe and Asia, at that time, still maintained their autonomous privileges to a great extent, and art was at its highest pitch of refinement, especially in those minutiae so applicable to the types of the coinage; while in the Greek cities of Italy and Sicily, the arts had attained an extraordinary degree of excellence, the power of Rome being still confined within the narrow limits of a petty state, and the Greek cities of southern Italy and Sicily not yet dreaming of the Roman name which was so soon to absorb not only the population of all Italy, but of all the civilised world. The specimens of Magna-Græcian coins of the finest period, engraved in Plate V., probably belong to the period immediately preceding that in which the lava of Roman power overflowed its native crater, and pursued its irresistible course, conquering and to conquer, over a great portion of three quarters of the earth.

One of the principal characteristics of ancient Greek coins, even of the fine periods, when compared to modern money, is a certain rudeness of aspect arising from the irregular form of the coin, which is never perfectly circular, as the Greek moneyers did not understand the principle of the *collar*, by which an accurate circle is obtained in modern coins. Arising from the same cause, is the frequent accident by which part of the inscription, or part of the bead border does not find its place on the coin: the perfect placing of which is rendered inevitable by the aid of modern machinery. But when from these minor imperfections, partly mechanical, we turn to a comparison of the art displayed in the types, all modern coinages sink into insignificance, and the grandeur and simplicity, often sublimity, of the most ordinary types, in the hands of a Greek artist, become evident, beyond the power of the veriest caviller for modern supremacy to dispute; the principal and most striking characteristics of the ancient examples being their high relief and severe simplicity of design.

CHAPTER XX.

JEWISH COINS.

As I have shown in the earlier chapters of this work that, the Jewish people, though they used the precious metals as a medium of exchange, had no positive coinage, the "pieces of silver," frequently spoken of, passing by *weight* and not by *tale*. This state of things, in monetary matters, continued till the time of the subjection of the country to the kings of Syria, of the Seleucidan dynasty, about 312 B.C., at which time Greek currency, established throughout the East since the Macedonian conquest, circulated also in Judæa, until the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes, in 176 B.C., caused the revolt of Mattathias, the chief priest; when, his son, Judas Maccabeus, heading the revolt, eventually re-established the long lost independence of Judæa, and to his successor, Simon, was conceded by Antiochus, the son of Demetrius, the right of striking national money.

The money now struck is the earliest money known, bearing Hebrew inscriptions and types, and the pieces are the well-known shekels, found in most collections—the old national weight giving its name to the new coin. There are pieces of one, two, and four silver shekels, bearing different types, all relating to the ceremonial of Judaic worship.

The earliest money of Simon Maccabeus was issued about



the year 144 B.C. On the specimen engraved above, the types are—on the obverse the sacred cup of manna, which

Moses was directed to preserve in commemoration of the food furnished to the Israelites in the wilderness: on the reverse is "the rod of Aaron," on which three flowers are shown. The most usual inscriptions are—שקל ישראל (*Schekel Israel*), Shekel of Israel: on the reverse, ירושלם קדשה (*Jeroushalem Kedoshah*), Jerusalem the Holy; others are marked, half-shekel, &c. Other types have שמעון משיח ישראל (*Scheschimeon Maschi Israel*), Simon Prince of Israel; or, sometimes, such inscriptions as, "the first year of the Deliverance of Israel," or "the Redemption of Sion," &c.

All these inscriptions, expressed in modern Hebrew characters above, are, on the coin, in the Samaritan character, as it is termed, that is, the ancient Hebrew as it existed before the captivity in Babylon, where it was modified by the introduction of much of the cuneiform style of character in use in Babylonia, Persia, and Assyria. The modified form adopted during the captivity, is with but slight variation that of the Hebrew now in use, from which the characters on the coins are very distinct. The ancient character, it appears, was constantly preserved for monumental and sacred purposes which accounts for its appearance on the national coin.

All the money bearing Hebrew types is either of silver or copper, no gold having been issued during the short period of Hebrew monetary existence.

The pieces issued by Simon are generally dated from the "year of independence," as of the first, second, and third year; but none later than the fourth, and these latter are only of bronze.

The successors of Simon assumed the title of King, and even "King of Kings," and placed on the coinage Greek as well as Hebrew inscriptions. These are poor copper coins, and very rare. Such are those of Alexander Jannæus, and of Antigonus, son of Aristobulus. The coins of Herod, appointed governor of the country after its subjection to Rome by Pompey, are also confined to small copper, and have generally Greek inscriptions only, such as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ, "of the King Herod," dated in the year of his reign, as ΛΓ (the third year). The types are small and insignificant, and very rarely a portrait. The title of Tetrarch appears on those of his

coins issued before the title of King was conceded to him by the Romans. After Herod, the coins of the Roman empire circulated almost exclusively in the simple province of Judæa; but some coins appear to have been struck for especial circulation, as Hebrew types are found on some small coins bearing the names of Nero, Britannicus, &c.

At the revolt so fearfully subdued by Titus (131 A.D.) every vestige of nationality was swept away from Judæa, the coins issued by Barchocébas, the leader of the rebellion, being the last bearing any reference to the ancient Jewish types. These coins bear the same types as those of the prosperous time of Simon Maccabeus, and are sometimes mistaken for them by the inexperienced; but they are easily detected by a numismatist, and are most frequently found to have their types struck over those of a Roman denarius.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ROMAN COINAGE.

(THE REPUBLIC.)

THE ORIGIN OF THE "AS," AND ITS SUB-DIVISIONS IN ROME AND OTHER PARTS OF ITALY.

THE "AS" IN THE SQUARE FORM.

IN the early chapters of this volume, we have seen *gold* become the first, and for long afterwards, the principal metal employed in the establishment of a system of coinage in Asia Minor, while silver assumed its place in European Greece and her dependencies. We have now to witness the origin of a great national coinage, not based upon either of these metals, but upon copper, or rather, it would seem, on a mixed metal, termed "*Æs*," of which the modern word *bronze* appears a more satisfactory translation than *brass*, so long used to express the metal of the great Sestertian coinage of Rome. In treating of the coinages founded on the relative values of gold and silver, we have seen the drachma and the obolus become the weights by which the size of the

pieces were regulated; but in the less precious copper, we shall find the *litra* and the ounce forming the standard weights, and a coinage of enormous bulk resulting therefrom.

We have no records or monuments of a Roman coinage, till long after that of Greece was widely established. The heads of Romulus and of Numa, found upon ancient Roman coins, belong to a much later period than that of either of those kings of Rome. Coins bearing those portraits being money struck by persons claiming descent from those princes, who were *triumviri monetarii*, or officers of the mint, towards the end of the republic. But though no monuments exist of a Roman coinage, as early as the time of Numa, about 715 B.C. there existed, without doubt, an ancient copper currency at that time, and even earlier, which however, cannot be considered in the light of a *coinage*, as it passed by *weight* and not by *tale*. The use of copper for this purpose appears to have been general throughout Italy and Sicily at a very remote epoch; and the unit from which all other sums or weights were calculated was the *Æs libra*, or pound-weight of copper. This weight in Sicily was termed *litra*, and by some ancient authorities, the Italians are said to have derived both the weight and the term from the Sicilians.

Italy, and no doubt Sicily also, received Phœnician and Lydian colonies* at a period considerably anterior to the Grecian emigration, and the degree of civilisation thus introduced was apparently the means of establishing a metallic currency in the form of *weighed* money, the Phœnicians not being then acquainted with the art of coinage in its perfect form. That copper should have formed the monetary standard in the Italian peninsula and Sicily, in preference to the more precious metal, is accounted for by the rich mines of copper which had been extensively worked even in Homer's time, who mentions the exportation of copper from Temesa, in Italy, while rich mines are still in activity near Castro Giovanni (the ancient Enna), in Sicily.

* Etruria;—the Tuscia or Etruria of the Romans, was the Tyrrhenia of the Greeks, and hence ever considered a Lydian colony. Whether it was a colony founded by Tyre or by the Lydians, it is evident that a knowledge of metals, and the mode of working them, had been early introduced there from the East. The Etruscan name of Tarquin, and the chief Etruscan city, Tarquinii, were by the Greeks called Τύρρηνος (*Tyrrhenos*), indicating the origin of the people from the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi of Asia Minor.

The Phœnicians, who traded with the whole of the western shores of Italy, made the native Pelasgi well acquainted with the best modes of smelting and amalgamating metals, especially copper, the most abundantly and widely-distributed of that class of mineral substances. The mixture of tin with copper to render it hard enough for coins, armour, and other purposes, was practised at a very remote period, and the relative proportions of the amalgam varied but little in widely-distant countries, or even from those of modern practice.

The Italian workers in copper were highly celebrated, and the bronze candelabra of Etruscan workmanship were greatly prized, even at Athens.

Italy, like Greece, was originally peopled by the widely-spread Pelasgic race, and the affinity of the languages is shown by examples on early Greek coins.

The celebrity of the Pelasgi as smiths and miners is often referred to by ancient authors, and even mixed up with the earliest Greek mythologies, where they figure as the one-eyed Cyclops, that is, miners who penetrate into the depths of the earth; the lamp, by the light of which they prosecuted their subterranean labours, being fixed to their foreheads—the Cyclopean eye.

The mineral wealth which these Pelasgi thus produced, was prepared for barter in wedges, or ingots, of one pound in weight, or a multiple of that weight; and so originated the copper coinage of Rome, where the public treasury always bore the name of *Ærarium*, or depôt for bronze, which represented, in fact, the public wealth. This treasure, after the expulsion of the kings, was deposited in the Temple of Saturn, and remained so, after the mint was established in that of Juno Moneta.* During the epoch of the semi-fabulous Numa, several internal regulations, both social and legal, appear to have taken place, owing to which it is possible that improvements relative to the exchange of property by means of a copper medium, may have taken place, which afterwards gave rise to the fable that Numa was the inventor of money.

* Or rather the depository of the standard weights connected with the coinage.

THE SQUARE "AS" OF THE TIME OF SERVIUS TULLIUS,
AND LATER.

In the reign of Servius Tullius, 578 B.C., when the early history of Rome begins to disentangle itself from the mythic character of the earlier period, we find positive allusions to the "as," or pound weight of copper, as a general measure of value. In the new constitution of Tullius, the different classes into which he divided the citizens were distinguished according to the number of ases of copper they possessed. The wealth required from each class respectively, was, according to Böckh's conjecture—20,000 for the first class, 15,000 for the second, 10,000 for the third, 5000 for the fourth, and 2000 for the fifth, which, however, are rated by authors of the sixth century of the foundation of the city at a much higher number, a mistake arising from the "as" being no longer, in their time, a pound in weight, though it still went by the same name, and represented the same nominal value. Servius Tullius is said by Pliny to have been the first who caused these ingots of copper to be stamped with the image of an ox, a sheep, and other domestic animals, possibly as indicating the species of barter which their use facilitated.

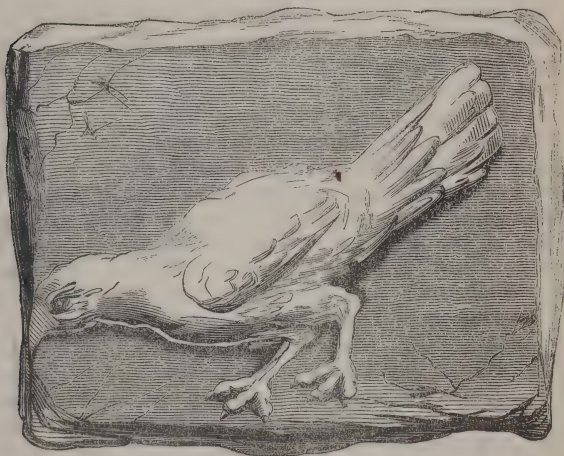
These ingots were at first of an oblong square form, and several of them have been discovered in modern times stamped with the images of various animals, as described by Pliny, and carefully preserved in different national collections, where they are, however, among the rarest specimens of ancient money, the British museum not possessing a single specimen. The images on all those yet discovered, it must be observed, are of a much later style of art than can be attributed to the age of Servius Tullius, and must therefore be regarded as much more recent examples, though still of the same design, form, and weight. The Duc de Luynes, however, describes one which he saw in Italy, which he pronounces to be of archaic treatment in the type, and which may possibly be of the age of Tullius. From these pieces of copper bearing the images of different domestic animals, Pliny derives the Latin term *pecunia*, "money;" from *pecu*, "cattle;" and our own monetary terms, "pecuniary," &c., are apparently derived through

the Roman from the same ancient source. But these pieces of copper were not yet money in the sense of coined money, which passes by *tale* and not by weight; for it appears that when payments of so many ases of copper were made, the total sum was ascertained by *weighing*, and not by counting; and even as late as 40 B.C., Varro describes an ancient pair of scales formerly used for the purpose, as still preserved in the temple of Saturn. Fines were still *weighed*, according to ancient custom, up to a very late period of the republic, or even the beginning of the empire; and the legal term *pænas pendere*—that is, to *weigh* the fine—was preserved, like many of our own law terms, long after the real meaning had ceased to exist. Such terms as *dispendious*, &c., are derived from this ancient Roman custom.

The pieces called the *Æs libra*, or pound of bronze, were also termed *stips*—a term probably belonging to them previous to the period at which they received the images of various descriptions of cattle, &c., and when they were mere blank ingots; from which the terms *stipend*, *stipendiary*, &c., are derived. They were also termed *Æs rude*, *Æs grave*, *raudus*, *radusculus*, &c.

The square pieces with the effigies of cattle, &c., upon them were cast, and not hammered like the money of the Greeks. They are of the form of small flat bricks, but of course, varying in size according to the weight; pieces being cast of one, two, four, five and ten ases, termed *As dupondius*, *quadrussis*, *quincussis*, and *decussis*, and generally marked with numerals, denoting their weight, as I., II., III., IV., V., and X., but in some cases they are without this distinction. Pieces are mentioned by ancient authors of the great weight of one hundred ases. The term *as* and pound were synonymous and convertible terms. M. Le Normand, the most recent authority upon the subject, considers that these square pieces should be regarded in the light of simple ingots, bearing a national symbol or seal, as a guarantee of their weight, and considered that the square form was continued in the larger pieces, even after the issue of the circular "as," for the convenience of stowage in the national *Ærarium*; for it would seem that bronze armour and other spoils of war of this metal, were invariably cast into ingots of this form, on their transport to Rome. At the triumph

of S. Papirius Cursor over the Samnites, 295 B.C., 233,000 pounds of bronze were brought to Rome, and only 1330 pounds of silver, though the Samnites were then a richer and more luxurious people than the Romans. Some of the square pieces above referred to as still in existence, are supposed to be part of the bronze thus conquered from the Samnites, from the circumstance of the type which they bear, consisting of two fowls feeding.* It is well known that the Pullarii, keepers of the sacred fowls, having on that day declared the augury unfavourable, the Consul exclaimed after the death of the augur in the beginning of the engagement "The gods are now with us;" and by this well-timed application of the augury, turned the tide of victory in favour of the Romans. The type on the piece engraved below, from the collection of Carelli, no doubt refers to



A Roman As, in the Primitive Square Form.

this event. This piece is probably a single "as," but a larger piece which I have seen, and which has two fowls feeding opposite to each other, is a *quadrussis*, or piece of four ases.

* The smaller pieces have only one fowl.

† The above woodcut is slightly reduced in size from the original.

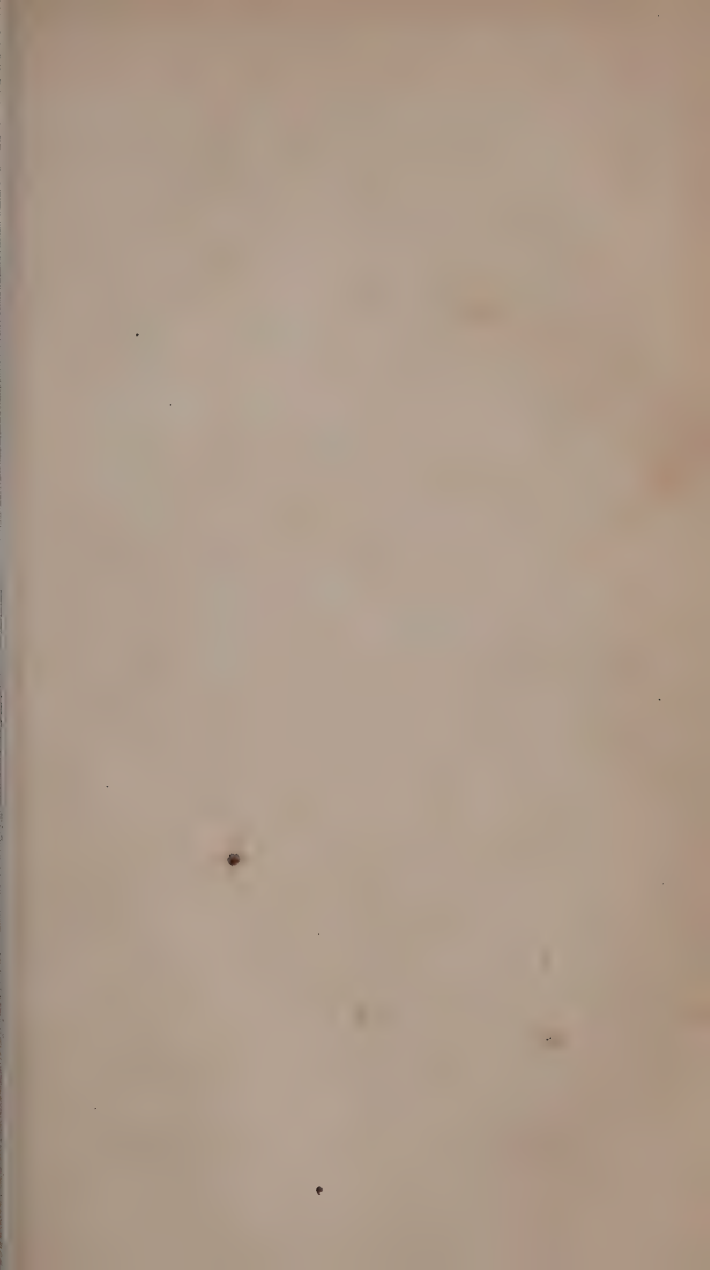
The ox on this primitive Roman money, may perhaps denote the Tiber; as, on the Greek coinage, from the earliest period, a river was frequently symbolised under the form of a bull,* as in the contest between Hercules and Achelous, when the latter assumed the form of a bull. (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.) The large square piece with an ox, formerly in the Pembroke collection, weighs 4 pounds 9 oz. 11 dwts. and 38 grains, and is most likely a quincussis; but the one bearing the image of a sow, in the Carelli collection, is of somewhat less dimension, and is probably a quadrussis, or piece of four ases.

Independent of symbolising the more ancient and direct mode of barter, animals selected as types for this great bronze currency had perhaps a deeper mythic meaning. A swine was a sacred animal among the Samnite and Latin races; and oaths were made, and treaties sworn to, over one of these animals, as will be found recorded on coins to be described hereafter. A sow was seen by Æneas on the spot where Rome afterwards arose, which brought forth thirty young; these are the thirty *Curiae* into which Romulus divided his people, each of which subdivided by ten formed the 300 Houses or *gentes*. The reverse of this quadrussis bears the image of an elephant, which may possibly denote that it was coined from bronze, captured in the war with Pyrrhus. The Asiatic conquests of Alexander had led to the knowledge of the use of the elephant in war, and its introduction into Europe. Pyrrhus, in his invasion of Italy, carried some of these animals with him, where they were seen for the first time, creating much terror among the Roman troops.

A square piece, probably a quadrussis, engraved by Carelli, has on the one side a rude but grandly designed sword, of the short broad form peculiar to the Romans; on the reverse is the scabbard. This represents, perhaps, the double aspect of Mars, in peace and war, with the same *duality* of feeling which suggested the two-faced Janus, to be spoken of hereafter. Mamers, or Mars, or Mors, the arbiter of life and death, was also the god of the Samnites, and generally worshipped in the form of a spear or a lance†

* See coins of Gelas, chapter on Greek Art of the Finest Period.

† The name of the Samnite tribes, implies "men of the javelin" (*σαννιται*).



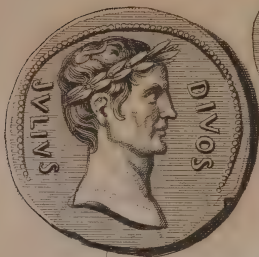
COINS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC & THE EMPIRE.

A ROMAN AS GRAVE, WEIGHT 9½ OZ.



(SLIGHTLY REPROD.)

IN SIZE,



1ST B.R.
AUGUSTUS



A
DENARIUS
OF THE REPUBLIC



1ST
B.R.



THE EMPRESS
LIVIA



G



DRVSUS THE
ELDER



AUGUSTUS
CÆSAR

(*queir*); from which name Romulus, as the reputed son of Mars, received his surname Quirinus. The sword as it superseded the earlier javelin in warfare, may have become the emblem of Mars with the early Romans, in preference to the lance.

It has been said, that the ases bearing different domestic animals, &c., for their types, are in general not Roman, but of the neighbouring Italian states. This remark, however, does not apply to the *square* pieces, to which, no doubt, Pliny alluded in stating that Servius Tullius was the first who caused them to be so marked, and which, there is good reason to believe, are nearly all Roman.

Those square monetary ingots that have come down to us are of comparatively late workmanship,* though no doubt considerably earlier than the earliest of the circular form, as some of them are nearly of the full weight of the pound to the "as," while none of the pieces of circular form are above nine-and-a-half ounces. They also appear to be the work of Greek artists, who were no doubt employed by the Romans to execute the models, from which moulds were made for casting them. This employment of Greek artists probably took place at the time the Roman power began to extend in the direction of Campania, and to absorb many Greek settlements of minor importance. Such pieces, however, are in all probability copies of more ancient ones, merely improved in artistic treatment. They continued to be made in the square form, as above stated, after the issue of the circular "as."

THE "ÆS" OR "AS" IN THE CIRCULAR FORM.

In its circular form the "as" or pound weight of bronze became a true coin, and no doubt passed by *tale*, as well as by weight, if not exclusively by tale. At this period, when the circular, or true coin form, was first adopted, which M. Le Normand estimates to be about 385 B.C., the weight of copper given to each was reduced from one pound to nine-and-a-half ounces, and this reduction may have taken place in consequence of the impoverished state of the finances,

* Except, perhaps, the piece seen by the Duc de Luynes, described at page 253.

which must have followed the taking of Rome by the Gauls immediately previous to this period.

It has been thought by earlier writers that the Romans imported the forms and weight of this grand uncial coinage from the Etrurians; but evidence of the most unimpeachable character is in favour of its being of Roman origin.

Pliny states that in the time of the first Punic war, 264 B.C., in order to meet the extraordinary demand on the finances of the state, the "as" was reduced from one pound to two ounces; and in the second Punic war, in the dictatorship of Q. Fabius Maximus, ases of one ounce were made; and the recently-introduced silver coin, the denarius, was decreed to be worth sixteen ases, instead of ten, its original value. Other ancient authorities prove that successive diminutions took place in the weight of the "as;" but it is not necessary to believe that one so great and so sudden as that described by Pliny took place at once. That the "as" was coined of two ounces only in the first Punic war is no doubt true; but that it had been gradually reduced previously, from its original weight there can be no doubt especially as the oldest of the circular form with which we are acquainted only weigh nine-and-a-half ounces; and subsequent diminutions to a great extent must have taken place previous to the one mentioned by Pliny, in order to bring the copper medium into relation with the silver of the Greek states, as they became more and more intimately connected with Rome. But these facts have only been brought forward here to show that the greater weight is a sure test of the greater age in coins of this class. Taking this, then, as the mode of estimating the relative antiquity of this great bronze coinage of the states of central Italy, we shall find that the earliest known coins are undoubtedly Roman—those with the Roman types of Janus and the prow of a ship, alone weighing nine and a half ounces. The next heaviest are those of Tuder, weighing eight ounces; the next are those of Volterra, weighing about seven and a-half ounces; then come those of the Umbrian city of Iguvium, weighing seven ounces.* Hence it appears clear that the

* The only exception to this theory of weights is found in the ases of Hatria, which weigh nearly a full pound. But the modern character of the Latin letters show them to be more recent than any of the above.

Romans originated the grand copper coinage under description, and that it was only introduced in the neighbouring states as they successively became subject to Rome, or strongly influenced by her institutions. Thus at Tuder it would seem to have been introduced at the time when the weight had fallen at Rome to eight ounces; at Volterra, the only Etruscan town to which ases have been yet assigned, when the weight at Rome had fallen to seven-and-a-half ounces; and in the same way in other states.

At the time the circular form was adopted, the ancient types of animals appear to have been superseded by those of deities, a course somewhat analogous to that which took place in Greek types.* The head of the bifrontal Janus, or Saturn, as some deem it, was adopted at this period as the principal type of the "as," perhaps in reference to the fabled inventor of money, Saturn, or to the temple of Saturn in which the public treasure was deposited. The two-faced Janus is often considered by others to be the same with Saturn, or Time, who is supposed to be represented with two fronts, as looking back into the past, and forward into the future.

The ship which was at the same time adopted as the reverse of the chief piece of the uncial† coinage is also supposed to refer to the landing of Saturn in Italy, thus alluded to by Ovid—

"At bona posteritas puppim signavit in ære
Hospitis adventum testificata dei."—*Fasti*, lib. i.

The numeral I. on the reverse denotes the unit; one "as:" the globules or dots on the smaller pieces denote its subdivision in ounces.

The plebeian of the Roman streets appears to have used these copper pieces for gambling purposes, by "tossing-up" just as at the present day—and the young Roman, as Macrobius informs us, cried out "*Capita‡ aut Navim*," (heads or ship,) long after the heads and ship had disappeared from the Roman coinage.

The coin engraved in Plate VII. is a circular "as" of the oldest form that has come down to us, weighing above nine-

* See Chapter on Greek types.

† *Uncial*—as being calculated by ounces.

‡ In the plural, on account of the two faces of Janus.

and-a-half ounces, and is drawn from a specimen in the British Museum.

The *Semis*, *Semis*, or *Semi-as*, has an S upon it to denote its weight, as half that of the "as;" it represented six ounces, and the type most usual in the Roman *series* is the head of Jupiter.



The *Semis* when the weight was much reduced.

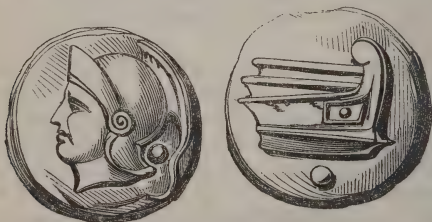
The *Triens*, or third of the "as," represented four ounces, and is distinguished by four globules or dots to denote the four ounces—the type is generally the head of Minerva.

The *Quadrans*, or fourth, represented three ounces, and has three dots or globules, and generally the head of Hercules for type.

The *Sextans*, or sixth, represented two ounces, and has generally the head of Mercury for type and two globules.

The *Uncia*, or ounce, was the twelfth part, and has generally one dot or globule, and the head of Minerva.

The *uncia* here engraved is of the same period as that of



Uncia, with Minerva.

the "as" of nine-and-a-half ounces; there are several of them in the British Museum, and twelve of them are found to weigh about one of the larger piece.

There was also the *semi-uncia*, or half-ounce, which with the whole of the series has most commonly the prow of a ship for the reverse.

The divisions of the "as" were also named after the number of ounces they contained—as *deunx*, *dextans*, *dodrans*, *bes*, or *bessis* *septunx*, *sescunx* or *sectans*, *quincunx*, and *teruncius*. Of the *dodrans* or nine-ounce piece, only one example is known—struck by the Cassian family, bearing an S, signifying the half "as," or six ounces, with three dots or globules in addition.

The "as" in its square and circular form appears to have been invariably *cast*, as also the smaller pieces, its fractional parts. The style of art when critically examined proves that these pieces are not of the high antiquity once assigned to them—the rudeness being rather that of accomplished artists, working in a bold sketchy manner, than the archaic rudeness inseparable from art in its early stages. The *as* of nine-and-a-half ounces, engraved in Plate VII., is nearly three-fourths of an inch in thickness in the thickest part. The fabrication of these pieces, as before stated, may therefore be assigned to Greek artists employed by the Romans, whose backwardness in the adoption of a finished manufacture of their money appears extraordinary, when we consider the close proximity of the Greek cities of Campania, where coined money of beautiful execution had been in circulation for more than two centuries, at the time when the Romans first adopted the circular form for their rude and unwieldy copper money.

It has been conjectured that this backwardness was more the result of intention than of chance, or the absence of sufficient ability to imitate; and that the warlike rudeness of the Oscan, Samnite, and Latin tribes disdained to imitate or adopt the refinements of their neighbours of the Grecian colonies.

It appears, also, that although these warlike and semi-barbarous states disdained to coin elegant money for themselves, they allowed the money of their neighbours to circulate in their states, which is proved by several well-known passages in Roman authors.

Some of the pieces larger than the "as," after the circular form was adopted, are of the diameter of four inches and

five-eighths, and thick in proportion. These extraordinary dimensions give to these immense coins an appearance of great grandeur, though the execution is often very poor. They are the pieces called *decusses*, denoted by an X, of the value of ten *ases*, but are generally of a later period than the "as," and must have been struck when the "as" was reduced to about four ounces—as the heaviest weigh little more than thirty-nine ounces. Some of these gigantic coins have the head of Roma one side, behind which is the numeral X, and on the reverse the prow of a ship; others have a Victory driving a *biga*, and beneath, the word ROMA, with the same reverse as the former; the numeral X frequently occurs on both sides in these large pieces.

A decussis of the same type as the first-named is figured by Carelli, which is only three inches and three-eighths in diameter, and which is therefore (in rough approximation) nearly one-fourth lighter than the above-named specimens, and must have been coined when the "as" was reduced to about three ounces. It is probable even when the circular "as" was at the highest weight of which we have any specimens, namely, about nine-and-a-half ounces, that the *decussis* may have been struck; and if so, unless of very much thicker proportion, it must have formed a coin of above nine inches superficial diameter. After briefly alluding to the coinage of the "as" in other Italian states, I shall describe its gradual reduction to the period when it became virtually superseded by the issue of the bronze Sestertius.

THE "AS" IN OTHER ITALIAN STATES.

Many of these interesting coins have been engraved in the work of Marchi and Tessieri, and in that of Carelli; the finest collection being that of the Kircherian Museum at Rome.

THE "AS" OF THE RUTULI.

Ases bearing the type of the wheel, are attributed to this people, and supposed to have been adopted as a *speaking type*,*

* It appears probable, that *speaking types*, as mere puns, were used on Italian coinages; though I am inclined to think *not* on those of Greece. See Greek types.

the name of the city, written in the native character, KRVTVN, or RVTVN, probably signifying a wheel, which its resemblance to the Latin *rota* renders probable.

THE "AS" OF TUDER.

The series of uncial money of Tuder has the name in full in native Oscan or Etruscan characters on the "as," semis, sextans, and triens, and abbreviated on the quadrans and uncia. The heaviest "as" of the Tuder series, exceeds that of any other state except Rome, but it never exceeds eight ounces, and it would therefore appear that the uncial coinage was not introduced there till the "as" had fallen from twelve to eight ounces at Rome. The types of this series are, the eagle; reverse, cornucopia, for the "as;" the lyre; reverse, sleeping dog, for the semis.

THE "AS" OF IGUVIUM.

These coins have the name of the city in Oscan characters, as IKVLINI. The greatest weight of the "as" in this series is seven ounces. The type of the larger pieces of Iguvium is the sun, represented by a ball surrounded with detached rays, and the crescent moon and stars on the reverse. The types of the smaller pieces are very various, such as pincers, or some other tool connected with the operations of coins; or, a bunch of grapes, &c.

THE "AS" OF VOLTERRA.

The "as" of this series weighs above seven ounces, and all the pieces have for type a bifrontal head, wearing a conical cap, and on the reverse, a club. Many of these series of *ases* of the Italic cities may be classed into sets agreeing with different standards of weight, as gradually reduced. The heaviest set of Volterra is the one mentioned. The lighter sets have different types, in each successive diminution of weight, which seems always to have led to the adoption of fresh types.

Some of this uncial money of Volterra has the type of the wheel on one side, which is considered to intimate an alliance with Aretinum, the metropolis of which was Krutun. While

those with a vase on one side, are supposed by the P.P. Marchi and Tessieri to belong to the secondary city of that state, Aretinum, famous for its manufacture of pottery.

THE "AS" OF ARIMINIUM.

The series of *ases* of this place, the modern Rimini, is very interesting. The period of its issue, judging from the weight, accords with that of its occupation by the Gauls, who, it would appear, struck money of this class in imitation of the Romans. The type is a head, apparently a *portrait*; as the hair worn in the manner of the barbarians; the face being unshaven on the upper lip only; and round the neck is a torque or necklace. If this be a *portrait*, it is the earliest example of the kind in Italic money, as that of Julius Cæsar was not placed upon the Roman coinage till more than two centuries later. The uncial money of Rimini would appear to have been issued about 295 B.C., at the period of the alliance of the Gauls of Rimini with the Etruscans. This Gallic state was destroyed by the Romans at the battle of Sentinum.

THE "AS" OF HATRIA.

The ancient city of Hatria, situate on the eastern coast, was, in the earliest period of Italic history, of so much commercial importance, that it gave its name to the Adriatic Sea, as the Sea of Hatria. The uncial money of this place about the period of which we are treating, forms an exception to the general rule, that money of this class is lighter in every other Italian state than the Roman, and consequently more recent. The "as" of Hatria being, on the contrary, heavier; being frequently found of the full pound weight; hence, judging from weight alone, the "as" of Hatria, of the *circular* class,* would appear older than the Roman, the greatest known weight of which is about nine-and-a-half ounces; but the comparatively modern form of the Latin characters of the inscription, HAT, combined with the style of art, seem to prove that these coins are even

* No square are known.

more recent, not only than the Roman, but than most of the other series of the "as." The discrepancy in the weight is a difficulty not yet satisfactorily explained, but the daily accumulating knowledge in numismatic science must soon afford some satisfactory explanation of this apparent anomaly.

Many Italic coins of this class, bear for types various domestic animals, such as the boar or sow, the ram, the bull, &c., which have not yet been attributed with certainty to any particular state or city, but they all belong to that class of money, which, doubtless, Pliny had in view when he stated that such types were first placed on the great uncial money by Servius Tullius, and were the origin of the term *pecunia*.

THE DIMINUTION OF THE WEIGHT OF THE "AS."

It has been shown in the foregoing pages that the "as" was continuously sustaining a gradual decrease of weight, and a decussis has been referred to, showing the "as" to have been at that epoch only four ounces. By the statement of Pliny we learn that the "as" was reduced to two ounces in the first Punic war, which is no doubt a statement made on good authority; but it is coupled with the notion that that reduction took place all at once from the full weight, whilst the evidence of existing monuments proves the reduction to have been gradual, though a very considerable reduction no doubt took place under great financial pressure at the time mentioned.

The better ascertained value of silver was, however, one of the principal causes of the reduction in the weight of the "as." When silver was first introduced, the drachma was of the nominal value of ten ases, or 120 ounces of copper; but as the "as" at that period may not have exceeded six ounces in weight, it would only be really of the value of sixteen ounces; but at the time of the first Punic war, when silver was more abundant, and its relative value to copper reduced in proportion to its increased abundance, the "as" was reduced to two ounces, giving only twenty-four ounces of copper to the *denarius*, a name at first given to a foreign silver piece which passed

for ten Roman ases. The reduction of the "as" continued, till from being originally a pound weight, of twelve ounces, it fell to one-fourth, and even one-fifth of an ounce, as proved by coins of this decreased dimension struck by the Terentian family.

Its reduction was so great at last, that sixteen were made to pass for the silver denarius, which was, however, partly on account of the establishment of the sester-tius, to be explained under that head. The "as" struck by the sons of Pompey weighs somewhat less than an ounce, and is about the size of its eventual successor, the sestertius, or well-known Roman *first brass*, as it is technically termed.

About the time of Augustus, when it disappears in its true character, the weight was at its greatest degree of diminution. After this period the "as" was represented by the *second brass*, and *third brass*, as they are termed; they were called the *dupondius*, or double "as," and the *assarius*, an ancient name of the "as," now used as a diminutive. The sestertius was originally two and a-half ases, but it was also one-fourth of the denarius, so that when the denarius was declared of the value of sixteen ases, it became virtually four ases, and the dupondius and assarius were its half and quarter.

The last mentioned coin, the assarius, or diminished "as," was the last coin struck by the last Roman emperors of the West, so that the primitive Roman coin was also the latest struck by the decrepit empire: larger bronze, silver, and gold having disappeared successively, till the wretched representation of the diminished "as," in rude though very minute form, was the only Roman coin minted, the "as" being thus the last, as well as the first money of the mint of Rome. It only remains in this short summary of the progress and decline of the great uncial copper coinage of Italy to notice the coinage of the "as" and its parts by the Greek cities of Southern Italy, when they became tributary to Rome. They appear to have abandoned the coinage of gold and silver after the loss of their independence, and to have only minted copper after the Roman standard of the "as" and its uncial divisions. Coins of this class issued by different Greek cities, are much more refined in design

and execution than the Roman, though they do not exhibit the high relief and fine qualities of the times of Greek independence. They are marked with the Roman globules to denote the number of ounces, as in the actual Roman series, and those of the Italian states. Some of those of four ounces have a quadriga or four-horse chariot on the reverse, with the addition of the four globules; and those of two ounces, a biga, or two-horse chariot, with only two globules—a similar arrangement of types to that adopted in the copper coinage of Sicily under the last princes, Hicro and Hieronimus. But this is by no means general, the types of this class of Greco-Italian copper being very various, but always having the globules denoting the ounces.

The coin engraved below will convey a good idea of their general style. The characters are Oscan, and it is generally attributed to Capua. It is, as the globules denote, a third of an "as," and consequently of a period when the full "as" must have been of considerable size, little inferior to the one engraved on a previous page.

The student becoming first acquainted with this class of coin from the plates in the great work of Carelli, would imagine them very fine and remarkable monuments; but the coins themselves are very generally of such poor relief

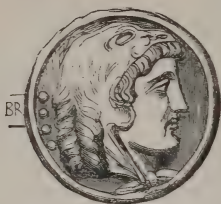


A quadrans of Capua.

and such spiritless execution, that great disappointment is experienced in their actual examination, notwithstanding the elegance with which their types are designed.

The next specimen is a quadrans of Luceria, of a somewhat

later period. A remarkable coin of the same denomination, is generally attributed to Atella, but it has the inscription



A quadrans of Luceria.

ROMA, accompanying a very beautifully designed reverse representing Hercules slaying the Centaur. I may also mention that the full "as," of considerable weight, at least four ounces, is found among the late copper of the Magna-Grecia cities, with the early Roman types, Janus and the prow of a vessel, but executed in a more finished style, and in much lower relief than the Roman cast pieces.

CHAPTER XXII.

ROMAN COINAGE.

(REPUBLIC.)

FIRST ROMAN COINAGE OF SILVER AND GOLD—COINS OF THE SOCIAL WAR—FAMILY, OR CONSULAR COINS.

FIRST COINAGE OF SILVER.

PLINY informs us that the first Roman silver was coined five years before the first Punic war, in the year 269 B.C. Long prior to this period, however, Greek silver had circulated freely at Rome, and in the other native Italic states ; but it was not till after the defeat of the Grecian colonies and their ally, Pyrrhus, that the Romans condescended to imitate the silver coinage of the now tributary cities. Posidonia was colonised by the Romans in 273 B.C. The rich and powerful Tarentum submitted in 272 B.C., and the consequent influx of silver to Rome was so great, that a national coinage of that metal was at last determined on. But even then it appears to have been considered secondary to the great national coinage of copper, which to the end of the Empire remained in charge of the ancient senate, while the coinages of silver and gold were considered prerogatives of the Emperor.

The denarius was coined of the weight of the Greek drachma, which had long previously passed current at Rome as foreign coin. It is lighter than the Attic drachma of the most flourishing period of Athens, which has led some to consider it as a perfectly distinct standard ; but the simple fact appears to be, that the Greek drachma had become slightly depreciated at the time it was adopted by the Romans, who took the drachma for their first silver

coinage, at the weight at which they found it circulating at that period; and then it was depreciated in value about five farthings from the Solonian Attic standard, which corresponded to nearly ninepence three farthings of our money, while the Roman denarius was equal, at its fullest weight, to about eightpence-halfpenny.

The term "denarius" (den-æris) denotes the value of the new silver piece as being that of ten bronze ases, and the numeral X behind the head of Pallas or Roma, also denotes this value.

The first denarii minted at Rome I believe to be those with the head of Pallas or Roma and the numeral X, and on the reverse the Dioscuri galloping, and beneath these the word ROMA, without any other name; those bearing the names of successive officers of the mint, or other Roman personages, belong to a later period. Those of the above-described types are the most rare, and still more so are the *quinarius*, or half-denarius, and the *sestertius*, or quarter-denarius, of the same types. The *quinarius* has the numeral V as being of the value of five ases, and the *sestertius*, S. II. The term "sestertius" is an abbreviation of "semistertius," a Roman method of expressing two and a-half; meaning two, and half of the third: the numerals "II" are two, and the "S," semis, or half.

Varro mentions still smaller sub-divisions of the denarius; the *libella*, half the sestertius; the *sembella*, half the libella; and the *teruncius*, half the sembella—the *teruncius* being little more than a grain and a half in weight. In the time of Cicero the libella appears to have been the smallest silver coin in circulation. Some have doubted the existence of these smaller coins altogether, and supposed them to be either copper portions of the denarius, or merely terms for account in reckoning minute proportional payments. Gronovius asserts that when Varro wrote there was no such coin as the libella, but that the word signified the tenth part of a denarius. It is most probable, however, that minute silver portions of the denarius were at first coined, though no pieces have come down to us smaller than the silver sestertius. The engraving in Plate VII. will convey a correct idea of the types and size of the denarius, and the following woodcuts, of those of the *quinarius*, and silver

sestertius. The reverses of the two latter are not given, being, if of the earliest period, of the same types as the denarius.



Roman quinarius.



Roman silver sestertius.

The later variations in the types of the denarius will be found described under the head of "Consular, or family coins."

OF THE SILVER COINED FOR THE ROMANS BY THE SUBJECTED GREEK CITIES.

Among the silver coins that circulated at Rome, previous to the native coinage of silver, were those called, from the figure of Victory which they bore for type on the reverse, *Victoriati*, as described by Pliny. These coins are stated to have been imported from Illyria as an article of commerce, until, in pursuance of the *lex Clodia*, they were coined at Rome, of the same type; but this was not till ninety-two years after the first coinage of silver.* Coins appearing to belong to this class have the Victory on one side, with the inscription "Romano," an abbreviation of *Romanorum*, "of the Romans," after the Greek manner; and on the other side a finely-executed head in a Phrygian cap, supposed to allude to the Asiatic origin of Rome through *Æneas*. Whether imported from Illyria or elsewhere, these coins are evidently of Greek workmanship, and the inscription shows that they were not merely pieces taken in exchange in commercial transactions, but coined on purpose for Roman circulation. The engraving represents the reverse of one of these pieces. I have seen coins of the same type of very inferior execution which are probably those executed at Rome under the *Clodian law*.

Reverse of a quinarius, termed a *Victoriatus*.

* 269 B. C.

Of the silver coins known to be coined at various Greek cities in Southern Italy, with Roman inscriptions, those attributed to Capua, Teanum, Sidicinum, and Atella, are best known. Some of these have the head of Jupiter, as chief type, and some the well-known treaty type of this class of coins, representing two or more warriors taking the oath over a swine.* But those mentioned by Pliny and other ancient authors are such as have the bifrontal head, apparently of Apollo, on the obverse, and a quadriga, or biga, for the reverse; from which they were termed *bigati* and *quadrigati*. They are generally considered to have been coined at Capua, after the establishment of a Roman Prætor in that Greek city, in the year 317 B.C. The larger pieces with the quadriga appear to be tridrachms, or pieces of three drachms. The piece engraved below is a tridrachm.



A tridrachm, termed a *Quadrigatus*.

There are other types of silver coin evidently coined by subjected Greeks, either for the Romans, or under Roman influence. Among them are those with the Carthaginian types of the horse's head and the galloping horse—the former with *ROMANO*, and the latter with *ROMA*. The coins are very beautifully executed, and the types would lead to the belief that they were coined in Sicily, perhaps during the contest with Hannibal in that island, when the placing of the name of Rome, or the Romans, on the national types of the Carthaginian coinage, would be likely to have taken place as an assumption of Roman conquest over the finest of Carthaginian colonies of the Punic portion of Sicily, or perhaps immediately after the subjugation

* See first gold.

subjection of the whole island to the Roman power, which shortly followed.*

There are, as I have said, other silver coins of about this epoch evidently struck out of Rome, as the privilege of coining their own money, but with Romanised types or inscriptions, was granted to a few of the Greek cities in Italy and Sicily, as afterwards in Greece and in Asia, which in the latter cases continued till a late period of the Empire, though in Italy, Sicily, and Spain this privilege was withdrawn after the reigns of the first emperors, and in Italy and Sicily as soon as the whole of the Italians were declared Roman citizens, which took place about 89 B.C.

THE FIRST ROMAN COINAGE OF GOLD.

The first gold coined by the Romans themselves is said by Pliny to have been issued sixty-two years after the silver coinage, in the year 207 B.C. Whether he alludes to the scrupular coinage, or to the earliest specimens of the *aureus*, with the head of Pallas, or Roma, is doubtful; but as the scrupular coinage appears the more ancient, it will be well to describe it first.

The scrupular coinage, as it is termed, bears for types the head of Mars on the obverse, accompanied with numerals, denoting the value, and on the reverse, an eagle with ROMA. This coinage appears evidently the work of Greek artists, and was probably executed at Capua, in Sicily, or at Tarentum, as the eagle strongly resembles in style of treatment, the same type on the Tarentine gold. This gold issue, wherever fabricated, was evidently made for Roman circulation, as its value is computed upon that of the *sestertius*, which appears to have thus early become very generally the unit of monetary calculation, to the partial exclusion of the "as."

The smallest of these gold coins, the *scrupulum*,† is of the value of twenty sestertii, and having the numerals XX behind the head of Mars. The next, the double scrupulum, is marked XXXX, and the third, (60). An engraving of a treble scrupulum, or gold piece of sixty sestertii, will be found on the following page.

* About 215 B.C.

† The origin of the term is not satisfactorily explained.

The next Roman gold in chronological order, is that with the alliance type, and is probably of very nearly the same period as the scrupular coinage, as it is, like that, calculated upon the basis of the sestertius, as the unit. The alliance type of this peculiar coinage represents two figures in the act of taking the oath over a swine held by a third figure.* One of the figures is evidently Roman, while the other appears to be Greek; the only inscription being the word ROMA; the compact apparently represented, is the convention entered into between Rome and Capua, previous to the general subjection of the Greek cities of southern Italy. The obverse of the coin is occupied by a fine bifrontal head of Apollo, seemingly executed by the same artist, as a similar type on the silver tridrachm described at page 269. These types are found executed in two distinct styles, one fine and sharp, but of little elevation from the surface; the other bolder, but more rude. The former were probably the work of Greek artists of Capua or Cuma, the latter a native Roman imitation.

There are two sizes of the gold pieces of these types, the larger weighing $105 \frac{2}{10}$ grains, which must be considered of the value of 120 sesterces. The smaller of $52 \frac{7}{10}$ grains, which appear to be of the value of sixty sesterces. These pieces, as well as those of the scrupular coinage, are among the greatest rarities of Roman republican gold. The engraving below represents reverse of one of the large pieces, of the value of 120 sesterces.



Roman gold struck
at Capua.



Specimen of the Scrupular
coinage.

The true Roman aureus appears next in chronological order, and is probably the gold alluded to by Pliny, when he stated that a Roman gold coinage was not issued till sixty-two years after the silver. This coinage was the foundation

* See Roman types.

of the Roman gold, which lasted till the age of Constantine, and was continued by the eastern emperors, under whom it circulated throughout Europe, when, in the dark ages, no other gold coins were known; the pieces being known as Byzants, that is, money of Byzantium, the old name being still preferred to the more modern one of Constantinople.

The earliest specimens of the Roman aureus were, after the Greek manner,* made of double the weight of the silver unit, and of the value of twenty; so that the aureus weighed the weight of two denarii, and was of the value of twenty.†

Among the great variety of types of Roman republican gold, the student may at first find some difficulty in settling which types belong to the earliest period. But I believe the same criterion which I have mentioned as governing the chronology of the first silver, may also be applied to the gold, that is to say, those with the simple head of Pallas or Roma, without decoration, in the style of the earliest denarii, and with no inscription but the word Roma, are the earliest.

The *aureus* was at first said to be coined at the rate of forty to the pound weight of gold, which would give to each piece near 130 grains; but I have found none of early character, with the exception of the extra weighted coinage of Sulla, ranging beyond 124 grains, nor falling below 117, which brings the weight nearer to that of two denarii than the stated weight of forty to the pound. This rate, however, was gradually reduced, and in the reign of Nero forty-five aurei were coined out of the pound weight of gold—giving only 106 grains to each piece—the denarius having declined in relative proportion.

The simplicity of the early gold types soon became more complicated—the name of the officer of the mint for the time being was added to the simple inscription ROMA—and the national type of the Dioscuri on the reverse eventually also gave way to some type connected with the family of the moneyer, while the old and somewhat rude style of the head of Pallas or Roma was succeeded by a more decorative

* See weight and values of Greek coins.

† This coinage was therefore not calculated on the *sestertius* but on the *as*.

manner of treatment, as will be seen by comparing that on a gold coin of Sulla, engraved below, and the heads on an earlier Quinarius and Sestertius in a previous page of this chapter. (p. 271.)



Gold Coin of Sulla.

The reverse apparently represents the dictator Sulla, in a triumphal car; but such a representation can hardly be considered a portrait, and therefore does not interfere with the assertion of numismatists, that the portrait of Julius Cæsar was the first ever placed upon the coinage of Rome.

The Lucullian gold was money coined by Lucullus, under the direction of Sulla, of more than one-fourth extra weight, with which his soldiery were paid, and which is sufficient to account for the devotion of the army to the tyrant; some of these aurei are said to weigh 202 grains, but I have seen none heavier than 167 1-10th grains; the one engraved above being 166 1-10th grains. Of the further development of the Roman Republican gold I shall speak in the article on the "family" or "consular" coinage.

SILVER COINS OF THE SOCIAL WAR.

When Rome had at length brought all the Italian states and cities, whether Greek or native, under the domination of her power, and began to extend her pretensions far beyond those limits, even beyond those of Europe, and to establish her sway in Asia, the very centre of her power appeared likely to be shaken by the revolt of Italy. The principal Italic states, claiming to hold the same rank and privileges as Rome herself, instead of being treated as conquered and tributary nations, rose in the year 91 B.C., in the form of a powerful confederation against the dominant metropolis, and commenced the so-called, social war.

Though eventually defeated by the discipline and vast resources of Rome, they had displayed sufficient determination and power to ensure the respect of the great republic, and obtain by concession the privileges they had failed to enforce by arms.

During the struggle the confederated states struck coins

illustrative of their claims, their successes, and their national characters, which form most interesting and characteristic monuments of this episode in the great story of Rome.

Among these coins of the social war I shall only be able to describe a few, but they will be sufficient to exhibit the general character of the whole series, which, however, are all worthy the careful examination and research of the curious student.

The coins are generally silver denarii, and the first I shall notice are those with the inscription "Q. Silo," struck by Quintus Pompædus Silo, the leader of the Marsians, and in fact, of the whole confederacy, of which he was the animating spirit. Silo endeavoured to give to the revolt the character of a general Italic protestation against the individuality of Rome, and the word "Italia," either in Latin or Oscan characters, is found on most of the coins struck by the combined states during the war. The head on the obverse of the principal coin I am about to describe is in the style of the head of Roma, on the Roman denarii, but with the inscription, "Italia." On the reverse are eight warriors taking an oath in the ancient Italic manner over a swine held by a youth, with the inscription "Q. Silo" beneath. Livy has preserved the form of oath taken in this manner, which varied according to the people and circumstances. He makes it run as follows:—"If THEY shall first depart from them (*the conditions*) by authority of the state, through fraud or deceit, may Jupiter in that day strike them (the Romans, or any other people,) as I shall here this day strike this swine."* Mr. Millingen considers that the eight warriors indicate eight confederated states; but M. Merimé is of opinion that a confederation is indicated without any regard to the number, for it is not known how many states joined or allied themselves in this cause, their number being very variously computed by different authors. More probable than either of the above conjectures is that which supposes four of the figures to represent Romans, and the other four a party of the confederates, and that the oath being taken refers to a treaty made between the contending parties

* "Si prior defexit, publico consilio, dolo malo; tu illo die, Jupiter (populum Romanum) sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam."—*Liv. i. 24.*

during the course of the war. This view is borne out by the passage in Cicero,* which states that, "In the treaty formerly with the Samnites, a certain noble youth held up a swine, by command of the imperator," &c.†

Another coin has a similar head, which may possibly be the impersonation of Italy, with "Italia" beneath—behind which is a wreath of laurel indicating recent triumphs. The type of the obverse is the DioscURI, on prancing horses, as they are usually represented when intended to denote victory obtained through their aid. The inscription beneath is in Oscan or Samnite characters, and has not been explained. The word in Samnite characters on many of these coins has been deciphered as *Viteliu*, supposed to be the ancient name of Italy, or perhaps a mystic name, as Valentia was of Rome. The coins with *Viteliu* in Samnite characters are supposed by numismatists to belong to the southern confederated states, and those with *Italia* to the northern.

The word *Mutil* occurring on these coins, written in Oscan characters, is an abbreviation of, C. Papius Mutilus, the leader of the Samnites. Some have "Mutil *Embrator*," equivalent to the Roman *Imperator*. The word "Safinim," in Samnite characters, is considered to be the national name of the Samnites in their native dialect.

One of the most striking types of the coins belonging to the series of the social war, is that in which a bull is seen overcoming a wolf; the bull symbolising Italy, and the wolf Rome. The origin of the symbol of the bull as a national emblem among the Samnites is thus described by Strabo:—The nation having vowed "a spring to Mars," their youth went forth, and following a bull, which directed its course to the south, and lay down in the territory of the Opici, they there sacrificed to Mars, and adopting the omen, settled in that district, and assumed the figure of a bull as a national emblem.

Most of the coins struck by the insurgents during the social war are denarii, some being marked with the numerical X, and others with *, denoting XVI, after the denarius was declared of the value of sixteen ases.

* Cicero de Inv.

† A treaty sworn to in a similar manner with the Campanian states is recorded on a gold coin described in the article on "The first Roman Gold."

The restoration of peace, and general prosperity after the evils of the social war, appears to be represented on a denarius struck expressly, and most probably at Rome, to commemorate the auspicious event. The head of personified Italy, crowned with olive as an emblem of plenty, appears in front of Roma, with the usual helmet; one profile over the other; or it may be that these heads rather symbolise agriculture as the characteristic of Italy in general, and arms, as that of Rome; though the letters behind, and in front, HO· and VR· would rather seem to indicate *Honos* and *Virtus*, (Honour and Virtue,) as the impersonations intended. On the reverse are two female figures of similar import, the one holding a rod or sceptre, and placing her foot upon a globe, is designated as Roma by the letters RO behind the figure; the other, holding a cornucopia, as an emblem of plenty, is distinguished by a monogram as Italia. They are holding each other's hands in token of concord. The inscription beneath these figures, CORDI, has generally been considered to be the name Cordus, a surname borne by some of the Scævolaë, as it occupies the place in which such names are commonly found on the "family coins." But on this coin, which is evidently not of the usual denarian series, but struck to commemorate some especial and important event, it is perhaps more probable that it alludes to the celebration of the happy termination of the civil discords as addressed to the best feelings—"to the heart;" while the inscription on the other side, KALENI or KALENT, may possibly refer to the date or *calend*, at which the pacification was finally concluded, rather than to the name Calenus, borne by some members of the Fufia family, as generally supposed.

COINS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC, TERMED "FAMILY" CONSULAR COINS.

In order to understand the progress of this class of Roman coins, it will be necessary to retrace our steps, as we have advanced beyond the period of their earliest appearance, in describing the earliest gold, and the coins of the Social

War. The earliest coins of ancient nations invariably present types of a mythic or religious nature; the sacred character of the seal or impress by which the weight and purity of the coins were guaranteed, being an essential element in the faith, with which national coined money was at once accepted as a secure and legal circulating medium. We have seen in treating of the different series of coin of Grecian origin that it was very long before a human portrait was placed upon the public money, and then, at first, only in the character of a deity.

The early Roman coinage followed the same course; the earliest types being the figures of such animals as were objects of periodic sacrifice to the gods, or connected with mythic versions of the foundation of the state—their character as representing the principal object portrayed being secondary. Even when a wheel on the coins of the Rutuli, or an elbow on the coins of Ancona, appear a mere pun on the name of the city or state, these types have no doubt a deeper meaning, and are connected with the early fable, which was the cause of that name being given to the city.* As skill in art progressed, we find pictorially descriptive subjects adopted, but not commonly; a few of which I have described in the Greek series, which are of the character of those I have referred to in this chapter, representing the act of swearing to treaties between the Romans and other Italian States.

We have seen that the types of the earliest Roman Denarii and Aurei,† are simply the head of Pallas, or Rome, with the inscription "Roma," and the reverse, the Dioscuri, or the ancient national type of the prow of a galley. Subsequently the names of a number of Roman personages appear, in addition to the single inscription "Roma;" to account for which, it would appear that the officer of the mint for the time being, possessed the privilege of placing his name upon all coins struck during his tenure of office, which he may indeed have been compelled to do by the state, as a precaution against depreciation in weight, or in the purity of the metal, for any base coin could thus be traced to the special administration under which it was issued.

* In the later "Family Coins," and in the coins of modern countries, it is possible that such types were mere puns, but not in the grave simplicity of the earlier periods.

† See first Roman gold and first Roman silver.

It was formerly considered that this series of coins was issued by the successive consuls, and consequently bore their names—a very plausible theory, as most of the consular names occur in these inscriptions. But the theory becomes no longer tenable when we find that a great number of names occur of persons never having held the consular dignity, and it has consequently been abandoned by all recent writers on the subject. The author of the short article in Smith's excellent Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, appears to think that private individuals had the right of taking gold and silver to the mint to be coined for their own use, and that the name of the person sending the metal for coinage was placed upon all coins struck from it. This view, although it bears a semblance of probability, is not borne out by any ancient authority.

The immense variety of types and the great number of names found upon this series of coins, can scarcely be accounted for by the supposition that the *triumviri monetarii*,* or chief officers of the mint, possessed alone the privilege of placing their names upon the public coinage, for, if we suppose these officers changed as frequently as once every year, and that each (as we know they had) had separate charge of the copper, gold, and silver coinages after the introduction of the two latter, even then, the succession of names upon the silver alone, calculated from the time of the probable origin of the custom of placing the name on the coin, would not amount to anything like the number found in that series. To overcome this difficulty, it has been supposed that during the republic, every officer in charge of a newly subjected province, had each the privilege of coining money bearing his name; and it is true that many coins of this class bear evidence in the types of having been struck in Asia and Africa. This hypothesis, if found eventually to be correct, would account for the immense variety of types and names; while to account for the great similarity of art displayed, on the greater portion of the series, we must suppose, that each officer on receiving his appointment took out with him Roman artisans for this purpose. The money so coined was most probably applied principally to the payment of

* See article on Roman mints, weights, values, &c.

the Roman troops, or made current in the district in which it was issued by a special edict. We know that money was coined both in Greece and Asia for the payment of the army of Sulla, and there is no reason for supposing that to be a solitary instance. Such an issue would not interfere with the native money that the free cities of many provinces were still allowed to strike, nor would its forced circulation be attended with inconvenience, as the Roman denarius was so near the weight of the Greek drachma, that it no doubt passed for the same.

However this may be, it is certain that the names of an immense number of Roman families, both patrician and plebeian, are found on the coins of the later periods of the Roman republic, and the placing of such names on the coinage would seem to commence shortly after the time of the first native issue of silver, as the treatment of the types is very similar to that of those denarii with ROMA alone, which I consider the earliest. Recent writers have thought that all the coins termed of "the Roman families," belong to a period within fifty years previous to the reign of Augustus, and, doubtless, a great number of them do; but I am inclined to think it will be found that this series may be divided into two or three distinct classes, of which I offer the following mode of classification.



Silver Coin of
T. Cloelius.

Greek coinage, and frequently abbreviated in the same manner, as in the coins bearing the name of one of the Cloelian family, abbreviated as T. CLOVLI.



Silver Coins of the
Horatian Family.

Secondly. Those which, in addition to the names have also the symbols belonging to the family of the individual whose name appears, or the additional name of some illustrious ancestor, such as the one engraved below, of one, the Horatian family; with the name of the illustrious Cocles.

Thirdly. Such as have the head of Roma much more elegantly executed, or changed in character, and the subject

of the reverse more or less connected with the history of the person or family of the person whose name appears on the coin. The coins struck under the auspices of Sulla as an officer of the mint, or by his immediate direction as *dictator*, are good examples of this style, though some earlier might perhaps be selected.

The coin engraved here is an aureus; the reverse representing Sulla in the act of triumphing in a quadriga, the style of which is similar to those with a Victory or Jupiter, conducting a biga or quadriga of the earlier periods. The head of Roma or Pallas on the obverse, is rendered much more decorative in character, and of different proportions to those of earlier coins.



Gold Coin of Sulla.

The fourth class I form of those in which all reminiscence of the ancient types is abandoned, and their place occupied by a variety of fanciful designs, of heterogeneous character, generally connected with the private history of the family of the personage whose name appears upon the coin. This class probably belongs entirely to a period commencing immediately after the dictatorship of Sulla, 79 B.C., and terminating in the commencement of the reign of Augustus, perhaps about 30 or 25 B.C. ;* but most of the more striking belong to the period previous to the dictatorship of Cæsar, as after that epoch, in many instances, the names only of mint masters appear, in which case they are styled by numismatists, the moneyers of Cæsar, of Lepidus, of Octavianus, &c.

In the commencement of the reign of Augustus, however, types relative to the ancestral deeds of private families occur again, and were encouraged by that ruler, as Barthélemi conjectures, in order to accustom the Romans to receive eventually records of deeds exclusively relating to the emperor. It is certain that this class of coins, from the epoch of Sulla to the middle of the reign of Augustus, may be considered as a transition series, uniting the severe

* The death of Antony took place in 30 B.C., but though Octavianus became sole ruler of the Roman world, the strictly monarchic character of the rule then established was not fully developed for several years.

simplicity of the types of the early republican money, with the novel and important historic character of those of the empire.

The *gentes*, or families, into which Romulus divided the several divisions of the city, were distinctions retained till a late period of the empire, and were rigorously observed about the end of the republic, when most of the family coins were struck.

The following is a list of some of the most remarkable types of the "family coins," of the last and most interesting period, by which many names and events, connected with Roman history, have been preserved, which have no other record than this series of money. Still many coins were doubtless struck, even during this period, with the old national types, which may be distinguished from the ancient ones by the more modern and careful style of the workmanship.

CORNELIA GENS.

Some of the most remarkable coins of this gens, or family, are those of the celebrated Sulla and his immediate descendants. Emblems were about this time placed by different families on the public coinage, which have a near affinity to the mediæval system of armorial bearings. As an example, I may mention the coins bearing the name of Faustus, the son of Sulla, who caused the types of his father's signet, the "three trophies," to be placed on the money struck under his influence. This badge or signet of Sulla was adopted by the dictator, as Plutarch informs us, under the following circumstances:—The first trophy was erected by him in the Mithridatic war, after his victory over Archelaus, the general of Mithridates, in the plain where the battle had taken place; the second on the top of Tharium, a craggy mountain, that was afterwards, for a time, the stronghold of the enemy; and the third, after the decisive victory of Chæronea.

Another coin of this family, struck in honour of Sulla, has the inscription FELIX, in allusion to his almost invariable good fortune. The type of this coin is a Roman figure in senatorial robes seated on a kind of throne. On either side

are two kneeling figures, one presenting an olive branch, while the other is bound as a prisoner. This device alludes to the surrender of Jugurtha, the defeated king of Numidia, by Bocchus, king of Mauritania, with whom he had sought refuge.

ÆMILIA GENS.

A coin of the Æmilian family, struck about the period above referred to, bears an interesting type relating to the tutorship of Ptolemy Epiphanes, King of Egypt, which was conferred upon the Romans; when M. Lepidus, one of that family, in 201 B.C., was appointed to the office, and is represented on this coin in the act of placing a crown upon the head of the youthful king. The inscription is TVTOR REGIS (guardian of the king), and beneath, M. LEPIDVS: the obverse has a turretted head, representing the city of Alexandria, with ALEXSANDREA. This coin was struck with the authority of the senate, as the S. C., (Senatus Consultum,) by decree of the senate, is placed in the upper part of the coin. The S. C. becomes universal on the *copper* coinage of the empire, as of that of the money of the truly national standard, while it is seldom or never found on the gold and silver after the reign of Augustus, the coinage of those metals becoming the exclusive privilege of the emperors.* Another coin of this family represents



Two Coins of the Æmilian Family.

M. Lepidus on horseback, with the inscription "*M. Lepidus annorum XV. prætextatus hostem occidit, civem servavit,*" signifying that M. Lepidus, at the age of fifteen, when he still wore the toga pretexta,† killed an enemy, and saved the

* See Chapter on regulation of Roman coinage, &c.

† The *toga pretexta* was a robe bordered with purple, which the Roman youth wore till their fifteenth year, after which they assumed the *toga virilis*.

life of a citizen. A public statue was decreed by the senate to the youthful hero for this exploit. The head on the obverse is probably that of Venus Victrix.

The type of the latter coin is repeated on coins of the triumvir Lepidus. Another coin of this family commemorates the victory of Paulus Æmilius Lepidus over Perseus, the last king of Macedon, when that kingdom became a Roman province. Lepidus stands at the side of a trophy in an attitude of command, and Perseus and his two sons as prisoners on the other. Above is the word TER, signifying, possibly, that the triumph accorded to Paulus Æmilius for his final campaign in Macedonia lasted three days. Another coin of the same family represents the subjection of Aretas, king of Arabia, by M. Æmilius Scaurus. The country is ingeniously typified by the camel, besides which Aretas is seen kneeling and presenting an olive branch. The number of coins of this family recording ancestral deeds may be accounted for by the triumvirate of Lepidus, during which, most probably, the greater number of them were struck.

PLAUTIA GENS.

The coins of the family of Plautia commemorate the capture of Hypersæus, and several heads of persons they claimed as ancestors also render them interesting, such as those of Numa, Tatius, Ahala, &c.

CLAUDIA GENS.

The first of the plebeian family Claudia who bore the name of Marcellus, was the Roman general who took Syracuse, and reduced Sicily to the condition of a Roman province. In his earlier career in Gaul he had slain with his own hand Britomartus, the Gallic leader, in an engagement of cavalry. At a subsequent triumph which was decreed to him by the Senate, the magnificent arms and armour of Britomartus were carried before him as a trophy, and were afterwards dedicated by him as *spolia opima* in the Temple of Jupiter—the third and last time in Roman history that such an offering was made.

A coin, supposed to be struck by his descendant Cornelius P. Sertulus Marcellinus, consul, in 18 B.C., records both the conquest of Sicily and the slaying of the Gallic chieftain.

The obverse has the portrait of the conqueror of Sicily, accompanied by the Sicilian symbol, the triquetra,* with the name of the person under whose auspices the coin was struck, MARCELLINVS; the reverse exhibiting Marcellus, covering his head with his toga after the manner prescribed in religious ceremonies, in the act of depositing the *spolia opima* in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius.



Coin of the Claudian Family.

The branch of the Claudian family bearing the surname of Marcellus became very influential on the accession of Augustus to supreme power, in consequence of the previous marriage of his sister Octavia to one of that family, whose son Marcellus was at one time intended as the successor of Augustus, having married his cousin Julia, the daughter of the emperor; but he died at the early age of twenty, universally regretted for his great virtues and accomplishments. It was at this period probably that the great events of the Marcellian branch of the Claudian family were placed on the coinage by different members of the family at that time holding office in the mint.

TITURIA GENS.

A coin of the Titurian family, represents the maid Tarpeia crushed by the shields of the Sabine soldiers, to whom she had betrayed the Capitol, and who had promised her the "ornaments" they wore upon their arms (frequently gold torques) as the price of her treachery. Disgusted with her want of patriotism, though profiting by it, they cast upon her their shields, also worn upon the arms, and so caused the death of the betrayer, as shown on the coin. This coin appears older than the era of the general class in which I have placed it; but it does not on that account invalidate the principle of classification I have adopted; as

* See coins of Sicily.

the type is national rather than referring to the story of a particular family. The same observations refer also to another of the family series, that with the type of the DioscURI watering their horses by moonlight at the fountain, after the battle at Lake Regillus. The first of these coins was struck by Lucius Titurius Sabinus, who was of Sabine origin.

A COIN BEARING THE FAMILY NAME NUMMONIA.



Gold coin of C. N. Valla.

This coin was struck in honour of Caius Nummonius Valla by one of his descendants. He appears as a Roman fighting his way single-handed into an enemy's intrenched camp, and it would seem, received his surname Valla, from the *vallum*, or *palisade*, which he forced, as represented on the coin. This is one of the family coins which, as historic records were recoined by Trajan.

A COIN OF L. PLAUTIUS PLANCUS.

On a coin of this family the following types and inscriptions are found. On the obverse a female mask resembling the head of Medusa, with the inscription *PLANCVS*; and on the reverse a winged figure of Aurora, leading the four horses of the sun. These types have been explained by the following legend of the early times of Rome. The tibicines, or pipers, who were indispensable to the ceremonial of public festivals, having taken offence at an edict of the censor, Appius Claudius, quitted the city, and retired to Tibur, the modern Tivoli. The primitive Romans were much distressed at this revolt of the state orchestra, and in the following censorship, that of Plautius, a stratagem was resorted to by which the indignant pipers were restored to their admiring public. Plautius himself went to Tibur, and after making friends as a stranger with the self-exiled musicians, invited them to supper, where the plentiful supply of strong wine in due time produced that pleasing

excitement, during which the votary of Bacchus is not altogether clearly cognisant of passing events, or their significance. Plautius seized this moment to present each piper with a mask, so that no one could recognise the other, and so disguised, persuaded them all to enter a waggon and take a nocturnal promenade, to which the excited musicians were no wise averse. As the day broke the waggon and its inmates entered the gates of Rome, and when, as each removed his mask, he found himself accompanied by his brother pipers, and the waggon surrounded by old friends vociferating their cordial greetings at the happy return of their beloved musicians, not one of them could resist the influences of the moment, and amidst general hilarity the musicians were re-installed in all their former dignities, and a yearly festival was appointed to celebrate for ever the happy event. This simple legend of the primitive manners of the early Romans might still find its like in remote corners of Europe, where rustic festivities are observed in commemoration of events, quite as simple and patriarchal in their character.

Plancus, whose name appears upon the coin in question, claimed descent from the ingenious censor, in allusion to which he placed the mask on one side of his coins, and on the other Aurora, the latter type denoting the hour at which the return to Rome took place.

MARCIA GENS.

Coins struck under the influence of the Marcian family, which claimed descent from Ancus Martius, have the portrait of Ancus Martius on the obverse, with ANCVS, and on the reverse, the aqueduct which carried the stream of water called the Aqua Marcia, to Rome. It was one of the most important monuments of its class, and was constructed by the Prætor Q. Marcius in B. C. 145; the letters A. Q. V. A. M. occur between five arches of the aqueduct, which is surmounted by an equestrian statue. The inscription PHILIPPVS refers to a surname borne by a branch of the family.

HOSTILIA GENS.

On coins struck by L. Hostilius Saserna, the heads of Pallor and Pavor, of very remarkable treatment, occur, in token of the descent claimed from Tullus Hostilius, who vowed temples to Pallor and Pavor in his battle with the Veientes.

LUCRETIA GENS.

On a coin of Trio Lucretius, whose name is not otherwise known, a case of *punning* by means of types occurs, which at that period was mere punning, and quite distinct, as it appears to me, from the "speaking types," so called, of the earlier periods. The obverse of this coin has the head of Phœbus; the reverse, the crescent moon, and seven stars, or rather *triones*—the constellation of the Great Bear. The sun and moon, giving the greatest light, of course refer to the family name, *Lucretius*; while the seven *triones* are an evident allusion to the surname.

The next coin, struck during the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar, is of the same class.

VOCONIA GENS.

The name of Vitellus Q. Voconius only occurs on coins. He appears to have been a triumvir of the mint under Julius Cæsar, whose portrait occupies the obverse.* The reverse has for type a *vitulus*, or calf, and Q. VOCONIVS VITVLVS Q. DESIGN., with S.C.

CORNUFICIA GENS.

Some interesting coins were struck by the Cornufician family: one, of Q. Cornuficius (who lived about 50 B.C.), bears the head of Ammon on the obverse, in allusion, no doubt, to the family name. On the reverse is a figure of Juno, holding in her left hand a shield, and with her right crowning a man who has an augur's staff in his hand; this device is surrounded by CORNVFICI(us) AVGVR · IMP(erator).

*See ensuing pages, "First Cotemporary Portrait, p. 295.

From the circumstance of this coin bearing the head of Ammon, some have supposed it to have been struck in Africa, where Cornuficius was probably styled "Imperator" by his soldiers, on his victory over T. Sextius.

LICINIA GENS.

A coin of the Licinian family probably relates to the public inspection of the horses of the equites by the censors, which is indicated by the type of the reverse, a man holding a horse, with P. CRASSVS · M. E. The obverse of this coin has a head of Juno, with S.(enatus) C.(onsulto): "by decree of the senate."

ACCOLEIA GENS.

P. Accoleius Lariscolus, struck coins, on the obverse of which appear three female figures, whose transformation into trees is just commencing. This type alludes, no doubt, to the well-known story of Phaeton, struck by the bolts of Jupiter for his unsuccessful driving of the chariot of the sun; and whose three sisters, inconsolable for his loss, were metamorphosed into trees. P. Accoleius received his surname from his ancestors, who may have been so named, *a laricibus colendis*, from being skilful in the culture of larch trees. This is a rather far-fetched allusion, but no doubt the one intended by the family, and is so explained by Eckhel.

ANTISTIA GENS.

A coin of this family has the inscription C. ANTIST(ius) VETVS CVM. GABINIS., with the following type: two men in long robes, and with uncovered heads, hold together a sow over an altar. On the obverse is the head of Augustus. The representation on this coin of the manner in which the early Romans concluded a treaty with other nations may be thus explained: Holding in their hands a swine, they called upon Jupiter to witness the act as they struck the beast dead with a stone, as alluded to by Virgil in the following passage: "Stabant, et cæsa iungebant fœdera porca." Livy explains this ceremony circumstantially. Caius Antistius Vetus was descended from an

ancient family of the Gabii, whose chief town was taken by stratagem and plundered by the last Tarquin, on which occasion they concluded the treaty which is represented on this coin.

CARISIA GENS.

A coin of this family has the inscription "Moneta," with the head of Moneta; on the reverse, T. CARISIVS; with an anvil, a pair of pincers, a hammer, &c. &c. Juno was called by the Romans Moneta (*à monendo*), because she admonished them to carry on just wars, and then they would never be in want of money. This head of Moneta alludes here to the coin itself, on the back of which the instruments used in the manufacture of the Roman coinage are represented.

CASSIA GENS.

Coins of this family bear the name of Q. CASSIUS, and a female head, veiled, with the inscription VEST. On the reverse is a circular temple of Vesta, in which is a *sella curulis*, or chair of state, having on one side a tablet, on which are inscribed the letters A.C.

This type refers to L. Cassius Longinus, one of the predecessors of Lucius Cassius, celebrated for his severity as a judge. He was called *Reorum Scopulus* (the rock of the accused). He brought two Vestal virgins to judgment, and condemned them: this is the circumstance alluded to by the head of Vesta and her temple. He also passed a law, by virtue of which the citizens should no longer give their verdict verbally, but by means of small tablets, on which was written either A. for "Absolvo," or C. for "Condemno," alluded to by the small tablet on the coin.

POMPEIA GENS.

On coins of this family the inscription SEX·POM·FOS TLVS is accompanied by the twin brothers, Romulus and Remus, suckled by a she-wolf beneath a fig-tree, upon which sit three blackbirds, while the shepherd Faustulus appears to look upon the children with wonder. The history of the twins, who were suckled by a she-wolf and fed by blackbirds until the

shepherd Faustulus undertook their protection, is well known. A branch of the Gens Pompeia claimed to be descendants of Faustulus, and caused these types to be placed on their coins. The inscription *Fostlus* is instead of *Faustulus*, in the same way as *Clodius* is used for *Claudius*, *Vinclum* for *Vinculum*, &c., in old inscriptions.

POMPONIA GENS.

Coins of this family have the inscription HERCVLES MVSARUM, with Hercules playing on the lyre. On the reverse, Q POMPONI. MVSÆ; with one of the nine Muses, accompanied by her emblems. Quintus Pomponius Musa no doubt chose the type of one of the Muses, in order to play upon his surname Musa. When Hercules is represented, as on the obverse of this coin, he is called *Hercules Musarum*, or *Musageta*, that is, "the leader of the Muses." He was known by this name in Greece, as afterwards at Rome, when his statue and those of the nine Muses were brought from Greece, and a temple erected there for their reception. On other coins of Pomponius Musa the nine Muses appear arranged in the usual order, each distinguished by her emblem. The most distinct figure is that of Urania, from *ouravos* (heaven); she points with a staff to heaven, as the Muse of astronomy.

ROSCIA GENS.

Coins of this family bear a female head covered with goatskin, and sometimes the letters I. S. M. R. On the reverse, the type is a girl giving food to a serpent. The type of the obverse is the head of Juno, who was worshipped originally at Lanuvium, and afterwards at Rome. She was known by the name of Juno Sispita Magna Regina, as referred to in the initial letters above. The reverse represents a priestess of Juno Sispita, who, at fixed times, had to bring food to a serpent consecrated to this deity. The whole ceremony is well described by Propertius.

SERVILIA GENS.

Coins of this family have the inscription FLORAL PRIMVSI, with the head of the Goddess Flora, crowned with flowers,

and on the back the head of Servilius. Flora, the Greek Chlorus, was the bride of Zephyrus, and goddess of gardens and flowers. The Romans honoured her with a yearly feast, the originator of which, by the evidence of this coin, appears to have been C. Servilius, as it is inscribed C. SERVEILI(us), FLORAL(ia), PRIMVS (fecit). At these games little decorum was observed, as we learn almost too clearly from the description of Ovid.

MAMILIA GENS.

Coins of the Mamilian family frequently bear the head of Mercury, with C. MAMILIA LIMETAN; the type of the reverse is a figure of Ulysses in the short dress of a pilgrim; he holds in his hand a stick, and at his feet is a dog, which caresses him. According to Homer, Ulysses, wishing to appear unknown after an absence of ten years, adopted this disguise, by means of which he was not recognised, except by his dog, Argus, who knew his old master, and affectionately caressed his feet. C. Mamilius placed this incident of the career of Ulysses on this coin, because he claimed descent from this hero of Greek fable.

HERENNIA GENS.

A coin of this family has the inscription, PIETAS, accompanying a female head; on the reverse is a young man carrying an aged figure on his shoulder. During an eruption of Mount Ætna, it is recorded that the two brothers Amphinomus and Anapius placed their parents on their shoulders and carried them to a place of safety. This act is often alluded to by ancient writers, and became an accepted emblem of filial love. This subject is also found as the type of the coins of Catania in Sicily, the scene of the original occurrence.

POSTHUMOUS PORTRAITS ON THE ROMAN "FAMILY COINS."

Such portraits were the immediate precursors of contemporary ones. It has been seen that as the true republican spirit decayed, many powerful families placed the portraits of remote ancestors upon coins struck under their influence. The Marcian family placed the portrait of the king Ancus Marcius on their coins. C. Memmius, just before the time of Augustus, placed the portrait of Romulus on his coins, which by old collectors were considered coins struck by Romulus himself. The Titurean family place the head of their ancestor Tatius, the chief of the Sabines, on their coins. The Cornelian family place the heads of Scipio Africanus and Scipio Asiaticus on their coins. That of the latter has been sometimes described as the head of Mars, but erroneously.*

Portraits of more immediate ancestors soon appeared; the portrait of Sulla was placed upon the public coinage by his grandson; and at last the portrait of the living Cæsar was, by decree of the Senate, placed upon the public coin, after his assumption of the dictatorship. This was soon followed by portraits of Pompey on coins struck by his sons, of which the following is a specimen:—



Coin of Cneus Pompey,
with Portrait of his
Father.

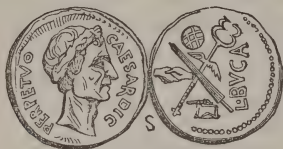
Portions of the "as" were also struck by the sons of Pompey, some of which have the bifrontal head of Janus with the features of Pompey on one profile and that of his son, Sextus, on the other.

COTEMPORARY PORTRAITS ON COINS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

In the year 46 B.C., when Cæsar had, by the signal defeat of the sons of Pompey, in Spain, extinguished the last sparks of opposition to his assumption of the supreme power, the Senate received him on his return to Rome with the most

* It occurs on a coin of C. Blasionus.

servile marks of adulation and subjection. It was decreed that he should on all public occasions wear the "triumphal robe,"—that he should receive the title of *Parens Patriæ*—that statues of him should be placed in all the temples—that the month Quintilus* should receive his name, Julius—that he was to be raised to a certain rank among the gods—and, finally, that his portrait should be placed upon the national money of Rome; and he was at the same time declared Perpetual Dictator. The coin engraved below is a silver denarius, on which the portrait thus decreed to him by the Roman senate appears, with the inscription CAESAR DICTATOR PERPETVO (perpetual dictator). The reverse



Coin of Julius Cæsar.

bears for type various emblems of peace, indicating the termination of the civil war and his reconciliation with the Senate. These symbols consist of the caduceus of Mercury and of the fasces, which, when without the axe, was considered an emblem of peace. These symbols are placed beneath a globe, denoting that the peace was universal. The clasped hands denote his friendship with the Senate, and the axe-like instrument his pontifical rank. L. BVCA is the name of the triumvir† of the mint, by whom the coin was struck.‡

There are coins of nearly the same type, in gold, which are, however, more rare. Other examples have *Parens Patriæ*. Cæsar's coins, struck before the decree relative to his portrait, have symbols somewhat similar to those of the family coins, but with inscriptions relative to himself and relating to his consulships, dictatorships, with *imperator* and other titles conferred upon him. All these coins of Julius

* Or the fifth, beginning from March, anciently the first month in the Roman calendar.

† See Chapter on Roman mint, &c.

‡ Several other names of officers of the mint, occur on the coins of Cæsar.

Cæsar belong strictly to the republican series, and form, with those of Brutus, Antony, and Octavianus, a link between them and those of the empire; but they may very properly be placed at the head of those of the imperial series, as it is clear that he already contemplated the establishment of a monarchy, and had adopted his grand-nephew, Octavianus, with a view to establish an hereditary succession, which, but for his untimely assassination, would doubtless have been carried into effect without the sanguinary contest which followed, and many of the heterogeneous characters of the constitution of the Roman empire would have been presented.

Brutus and Cassius, the two leaders in the conspiracy against the life of Cæsar, both struck coins: those of the former with the portrait of the issuer, with the inscription BRVTVS IMP(erator) on the obverse, and the cap of liberty and two daggers, with EID. MART. for Idus Martii, on the reverse.



Gold Coin of Brutus.

These coins exist both in gold and silver, and no doubt appears to be entertained as to their authenticity, though formerly they were considered by some to be modern forgeries, like many others connected with this interesting period, also, most probably, issued by Brutus shortly after the death of Cæsar. The first has a head of Lucius Brutus, with the inscription BRVTVS, and on the reverse a head of Ahala, with AHALA. The second bears on one side the head of Marcus Brutus, with M. BRVTVS·IMP·COSTA·LEG·, and on the other a head of Lucius Brutus, with a garland of oak-leaves. The third has a female head, representing Liberty, with the word LIBERTAS, and on the reverse, a consul between two lictors, preceded by the Accensus, with the inscription BRVTVS.

These three coins relate, without doubt, to the Brutus, one of the assassins of Cæsar, who afterwards perished at

Philippi. The types of all three pieces contain historical allusions. The first exhibits on each side portraits of the defenders of the Liberty of Rome. The first being Lucius Junius Brutus, the first Roman Consul from whom Marcus Brutus claimed descent, and the second Servilius Ahala, who slew with his own hand Spurius Melius, who endeavoured, by stratagem, to defeat the establishment of the Republic. The second coin has on one side the head of Marcus Brutus, with the thin face, as mentioned by historians: on the other side, the head of Lucius Brutus, the first Roman Consul, elected on the expulsion of Tarquin. The oak-garland was generally assigned to one who had preserved the life of a fellow-citizen. The third coin represents the manner in which the consuls were accustomed to appear in public, the Lictors and the Accensus being officers belonging to the state of a consul.

Coins of Cassius are also known, but are not especially interesting, except as historical documents, either in their types or inscriptions. The coins of the Triumvirate, formed after the death of Cæsar, are numerous, and bear the portraits of all three of the triumvirs.

The portrait of Lepidus, on the coins of that triumvir, are generally accompanied either by that of Octavianus or Antony on the opposite side. The inscription round the head of Lepidus is generally LEPIDVS PONT.(ifex) MAX.(imus) III. V.(ir) R.(ei) P.(ublicæ) C.(onstituendæ).* He received the title of Pontifex Maximus, vacant by the death of Cæsar. III. V. R. P. C., or Triumvir for the reconstitution of the Republic, was the title assumed by Antony and Octavianus; the portraits of these personages being accompanied by similar inscriptions in different degrees of abbreviation.

On other coins of the Triumvirate, when Lepidus had sunk to an inferior position, his portrait is omitted, and his name only appears round the portrait of Octavianus; on the reverse of these coins the fasces appear with the axes lowered to the handle in token of peace, and accompanied by a moneyer's name.

The portrait of Octavianus occurs on many coins struck during the Triumvirate, both accompanied by that of Antony

* The small letters supply the abbreviations.

or Lepidus, or alone, and generally with inscriptions, always more or less illustrative of the great events of the Triumvirate; but as I shall have to notice the portraits of this personage as Emperor, it will not be necessary to refer to them here, with the exception of that on one coin engraved by Cook, in his *Medallic History of the Roman Emperors*, which, if it could be safely considered genuine, would be highly interesting.* The portrait of Octavius appears in the usual style of the well-known genuine coins, with the inscription C. CAESAR. DIVI. F. IMP. COS. III. VIR. R. P. C. (Caius Cæsar, Divi filius, Imperator, Consul, Triumvir, † Rei Publicæ Constituendæ.) Here he styles himself, as on most other coins of the Triumvirate, Caius Cæsar, and son of the god, alluding to the deified Julius, who had adopted him, also Consul, and Triumvir for the reconstitution of the Republic. On the reverse three hands grasp the *fascēs* without the axe, and the caduceus, emblems of peace and felicity. A globe expresses, as on the coins of Julius Cæsar, the Roman world, and a sacrificial instrument alludes to the pontifical dignity. These symbols are accompanied by the inscription “salus generis humani,” (the welfare of the human species). The coins bearing these symbols are gold. The three hands, of course, refer to the three triumvirs.

The coins of all the triumvirs which have the portrait on one side, and a cornucopiæ on the reverse, have generally the name of the Quartumvir, L. Musidius Longus, Quartumvir of the Mint, a fourth officer, who for a short time was added to the customary triumviri monetarii.

Coins of Marc Antony are very numerous, both those struck in Rome, in Asia, and in Egypt. Many of those struck in Asia and in Egypt have Greek inscriptions, and some of the Asiatic ones are of fine execution. The pieces struck by his order after the reduction of Armenia, and bearing on the reverse the tiara of the Kings of

* Though the types and legends of this coin are not at all inconsistent with the style and character of the Roman coinage of the period, there is yet reason to fear that it is a modern forgery. It is not mentioned by Eckhel, and I should scarcely have alluded to it here, but for the purpose of showing the skilful manner in which the Paduan forgers and others imitated the style of Roman coins, and invented interesting subjects.

† Triumvir is generally written III * VIR.

Armenia, afterwards repeated on coins of Augustus, are among the most remarkable as historic monuments. The peculiar form of this tiara may be seen on reference to the engraving of a coin of Tigranes, king of Armenia (p. 135).

Among the Asiatic coins on which his portrait appears, are the silver tetradrachms, called Cistoporæ, from the type of the *cista* or sacred chest of Bacchus.

Those of his coins, however, which are most likely to excite the attention of the curious, are such as he struck in Egypt, and bear the portraits of himself and the Egyptian Queen Cleopatra, whom he married after his separation from Octavia, the sister of Octavianus.

The silver tetradrachm engraved in Plate VI., was probably struck at Alexandria about the year 33 B. C. He had been proclaimed Imperator for the third time after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius in the year 36, and in the year 34 Cleopatra assumed the name of the "New Isis." These events are alluded to in the inscriptions of this coin: round the portrait of Antony the inscription is ANTONIOC ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΤΡΙΩΝ—"Antonius Imperator for the third time,"—and round the head of Cleopatra, (βασ)ΙΑΙΣΣΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ ΘΕΑ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑ, "the Queen Cleopatra, the New Goddess, or the New Isis."

Visconti, who has engraved this coin in his "Iconographie Romaine," says, speaking of the portrait of Cleopatra, that, "les formes laissent beaucoup à désirer," which is certainly the case, but her fascination did not lie so much in mere charms of person, as in her intellectual accomplishments, and in the exquisite music of her voice, against which Cæsar himself had not been proof.

The portraits of the brothers of Antony appear on some of his coins, as also those of his two sons. The portrait of Antony himself always resembles the features given to Hercules, from whom he claimed descent. After his fall, his family through his daughters by Octavia, long remained rich and powerful in Rome; Caligula was his great grandson, and at a later period, his descendants, the Gordians, also wore the imperial purple.

Coins with the portrait of Cicero, were about this time struck at Magnesia, which place had received great benefit from his administration.

OF THE COINS IN GENERAL OF THE LAST PERIOD OF
THE REPUBLIC AND TRIUMVIRATE.

We have seen how the simple national emblems of the early republic gave way to the badges and symbols of private families on the Roman coinage, and how at last portraits of living individuals were tolerated.

In the first Triumvirate, of Crassus, Pompey, and Cæsar, the names only of the triumvirs appear on the coinage, accompanied by types flattering to their family, or political, or military pride, but after the dictatorship of Cæsar the old republican spirit had sustained most rapidly a further decay, and the *portraits* of the great performers in the last act of the great republican drama appear. These are more frequent on the silver and gold than on the copper, which, as the ancient national standard, remained more strictly under the surveillance of the Senate, though that body had become but a mere shadow of a power. However, during the short period after the death of Cæsar, when Cicero endeavoured to re-establish the ancient power of that body, money was struck exclusively by its direction; and the large copper, with the simple S. C., very large, within a laurel wreath, probably belonging to this period. As being, probably, the first copper sestertii, these are interesting coins, though the types present nothing attractive. The "as" having gradually become so small, a larger coin of that metal was required, and the quarter denarius or sestertius of *silver* being also inconveniently small, though a convenient sum, the *copper* sestertius appears to have arisen to obviate the inconvenience. Be this as it may, the copper sestertius first appeared about this time, and almost immediately became nearly the only monetary unit used in calculation in Roman pecuniary affairs, though the "as" yet continued nominally in use in fines and other matters connected with ancient laws. The ancient portions of the "as" were still coined at the end of the republic and in the early part of the reign of Augustus; and also by Sextus Pompey, who sought popularity by coining money of the ancient standard of the Republic. The "as," as struck by the family of Cinna, when in charge of the mint, shows an enormous reduction in size from the large piece

weighing 9 oz., engraved in Plate VII.; while those struck by Sextus Pompey, are of intermediate size.

The two engravings below will exhibit their relative proportions. The larger one exhibits the head of Janus under the features of Pompey and his son, Sextus; the smaller, has a more finished treatment of the original Janus type. The reverses of both are the ancient type of the prow of a vessel; the first, with PIVS and IMP(erator), referring to the defence of the cause of his father by the younger Pompey, and the title of Imperator conferred upon him by



The "As" coined by Sextus Pompey.



The "As" coined by a descendant of Cinna.

the legions who espoused his cause. The inscription on the reverse of a coin of the Cinna family, or of another of the sons of Pompey, has the name spelt 'CINAE, in the genitive case, and the ancient inscription ROMA, a name about to disappear from the coinage; its absence alone, in the time of the Empire, being sufficient to testify that the coin was struck in the metropolis of the world; as the coins of the principal mints bore the name of their place of mintage, while those of the metropolitan mint bore no mint mark, except the constant S. C. (*Senatûs Consulto*), by decree of the Senate.

We find the principal coins of Rome at this period to consist of the sestertius of copper, fast rising into favour, and the "as" and its ancient divisions, fast disappearing, to be eventually represented by the "second," and "third bronze" of the Empire. The denarius, or ten-as, piece of silver was firmly established; while the quinarius or half denarius, was rarely coined; the silver sestertius and smaller divisions of the denarius having disappeared; the aureus, or gold

piece, of the value of twenty denarii of the weight of two, firmly established, while the *gold denarius*, of the weight of one denarius and value of ten, being the semi-aureus, was rarely struck, and no smaller gold pieces were used.

To treat of the rise and progress of the Roman republican coinage in detail, would require more than the whole of this volume to itself, as may easily be conceived, when it is considered that Riccio's fine work on the "family coins" * alone forms a volume of quadruple the size of the present; but it is hoped that such a general view of the subject has been developed, as will enable the student to form a correct idea of its outline, and enable him to fill up the details by subsequent studies carried out *in extenso*, to which it is hoped that many readers of the present work may be incited.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ROMANO-GREEK, OR, IMPERIAL GREEK COINAGE.

As it would be impossible to enter into sufficient detail respecting the coins of each reign to give examples of the coinage of the Greek provinces, termed Imperial Greek, or of the peculiar class of coins struck by Roman colonies, and which are termed colonial coins, I will here explain to the student the general character of each of these classes, and then proceed to the description of the Roman Imperial series, strictly so called—that is those actually minted at Rome, which, till the establishment of mints in the western provinces at a later period of the Empire, formed the chief money of the whole civilised world.

The Imperial Greek coinage consists of such coins as were struck by Greek cities, both in Europe and Asia, which had been allowed to retain the privilege of coining their own money, after their subjection to Rome. Such coins have generally the portrait of the Roman emperor, for the time

* The prize of the French Academy was awarded to Riccio for this work.

being, on the obverse, with his name and titles in Greek: and generally some local type on the reverse. In the series of Imperial Greek coins, from the adulatory character of the devices, portraits of the empresses and other personages exist, as well as other types not usually found in the Roman series; and on this account, the Greek Imperial coinage, though generally of poor execution, is often very interesting. Imperial Greek coins seldom or never occur in gold, or even in silver, the latter metal being confined to a few principal cities, one of which was Antioch, where a state mint was established for the supply of the eastern armies, even from the time of Pompey; Antioch receiving that privilege *ex Senatûs Consulto*, at the time of the original conquest of Syria by that personage. Other places coining silver are such rich cities as Damascus, Ephesus, Tarsus, Tyre, Sidon, &c.; and a few others enjoying especial privileges. The types and inscriptions of these coins refer, as I have said, principally to the Imperial domination of Rome, but the inscriptions are Greek, and many of the secondary types, those on the reverse, were still either the ancient symbols of those states or cities, in the time of their independence, or referred to some local privilege, either of ancient origin or Roman favour. The term Imperial Greek applies also to the islands of the Grecian Archipelago, and to Egypt.

As these several countries were successively brought into Roman subjection by force or diplomacy, and formed into dependent provinces, a governor was appointed over each, under whose control no doubt the local mint was administered, though called independent. What appears singular and nearly incomprehensible is, that while the coinage of Rome itself attained great excellence during the first centuries of its possession of Greece and the kingdoms founded on her Eastern Empire, yet in those countries themselves, the art languished under Roman rule, and nothing of high excellence was produced; the great mass of Imperial Greek coinage being of coarse workmanship, and generally of copper.*

* There are gold coins of the kings of Bosphorus, of this period, which, however, belong to the Regal series, among these I have described them. Among these may be noticed the gold coin lately in the cabinet of Mr. Thomas, with a laureated head of Claudius on the obverse, and that of Britannicus on the reverse, as those of the emperor and the Cæsar, or heir-apparent. The

The Greek inscription round the portrait of the emperor is generally a literal translation of a Roman one, as ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ, for "emperor;" ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ, a translation of the meaning of the surname "Augustus;" ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, for "Cæsar," &c. The reverses are not very numerous, and are frequently a temple, with the inscription, ΝΕΩΚΟΠΟΣ, a title which certain cities assumed as guardians of a celebrated shrine. The term may be literally translated *temple-cleaner*,* and was a distinction eagerly sought, as a well-frequented temple brought much wealth to the city in which it was seated. Such was the case at Ephesus, for instance, where the shrine of the Ephesian Diana brought pilgrims from all parts of the Pagan world; and such were other places where a venerated idol, or oracle, existed; just as at Loretto, or St. Jago, of modern times.

Some of the Macedonian coins of this class have the head of Alexander the Great for the obverse—a poor imitation of the old Grecian style of the Hercules' head, with lion-skin head-dress, with the inscription, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. On the reverse of these coins are two temples, with the inscription, ΚΟΙΝΟΝ·ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ, "*community of Macedonia*;" and ΝΕΩΚΟΠΟΣ·Β, or "temple-cleaners for the second time," (Β being the Greek numeral 2). These coins are supposed to be of about the time of Caracalla, 212 A.D.

The coins which form the class called Greek Imperial, though rarely fine, are very abundant; for these eastern provinces formed, in fact, a great portion of the civilised Roman world. To give an account of the rise, progress, and extinction of the Greek Imperial coinage would require, even in an abridged form, an entire volume; for the district of Phrygia alone had fifty cities holding the privilege of issuing coins, Lydia thirty, Cilicia twenty, and so on for the other provinces, as Galatia, Cappadocia, Pamphylia, Bithynia, Phœnicia, &c.

There was also in many provinces a distinct class of coins, strictly Roman, issued for general circulation throughout the province, such as the Syrian pieces with the inscription

name of the king, Cotys, is only expressed by the letters ΒΑ·ΚΟ for ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΟΤΟΥ, "(money) of King Cotys." About the time of Domitian, the portraits of these kings are found on the coins.

* From *νεως* a temple, and *Κοπεω* to clean.

KOINON. CTPIAC. (the community of Syria), and the small coinage struck for circulation in Judea, with the inscription KAICAPOC, that is "money of Cæsar," the word *money* being understood; and such also is the coinage of Macedonia, inscribed with the names of the first, second, third, and fourth provinces into which it was divided by the Romans.

The style of the Imperial Greek coinage may be illustrated by a description of a coin of Trajan, which has the head of the



Imperial Greek Coin of Nero.

Emperor on one side, and a female head with a turreted* crown on the other; the inscription round the head of the Emperor is ΑΥΤΟΚ(ρατωρ) ΚΑΙΣ(αρ) ΝΕΡ(ουα) ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC. CΕΒ(αστος) ΓΕΡΜ(ανικος) being a Greek translation abbreviated, as shown, of the Latin one, and in English would run "The Emperor Cæsar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus." The reverse

has KOINON. CTPIAC "the community of Syria." The accompanying engraving of an Imperial Greek coin of Nero may serve as another example.

Another set of coins belonging to this class is that of the Cistophoræ, a series of silver tetradrachms, so called from the type of the reverse, which consists of the *cistus*, or mystic chest of the temple of Bacchus, which contained the sacred vessels of the temple. These coins, it is supposed, were coined originally by an association of towns of Asia Minor for a mutual currency, as were the coins of the Achaian League. Some suppose they were originally coined at Rhodes: however this may be, they were in very general circulation in Asia at the time of the Roman conquests, and much sought, as being perhaps rather above the ordinary standard. For which cause, perhaps, the Romans, on their subjugation of Asia Minor, only received the tribute money in this especial coin, and the consequence of this arrangement was, that the raw silver was collected from the tributary

* In Roman times the turreted heads formerly belonging to the independent cities of Smyrna, Damascus, &c., were used as the symbol of the entire province of Syria.

districts, and by mutual arrangement coined into these cistophoræ for the payment of their common tribute. There are cistophoræ with heads of various emperors on the obverse; and also that of the triumvir Anthony. Livy speaks of these tetradrachms, stating that they were only coins taken in tribute from the Asiatic provinces.

The Greek Imperial coins extend from the age of Augustus* to the reign of Gallienus, after which they were superseded by coins struck in Rome, or by provincial mints, where they were struck for the provinces with the same types and inscriptions as at Rome. Of the mints established at a late epoch in the western provinces, those of Gaul were the most celebrated, and some of them existed and continued their operations after the dissolution of the Roman Empire; for the Frankish kings afterwards, even as late as the reign of Louis le Debonnaire: for Roman establishments and civilisation were less overturned and obliterated in that province than even in Italy.

The Greek Imperial series of Alexandria requires, perhaps, special notice, although it is of very rough execution, for it did not cease like the other coinages of the East, with the epoch of Gallienus, but continued even to the time of Constantine the Great. This series has some characteristic types, such as the heads of Jupiter, Ammon, Isis, and the god Canopus,—animals and plants held sacred in Egypt. Another interesting feature in the Imperial Alexandrian series is, that from Augustus to Diocletian, the coins are dated in Greek numerals, with the year of each emperor's reign, and occasionally recording historical facts of considerable interest, a list of which has been chronologically arranged by Mr. Sharpe, in his work on Egypt.

A fine Greek Imperial coin exists of the island of Astypalæa, near Rhodes; it is a large brass coin of the reign of Tiberius, probably struck while he resided there. This island was called by the Greeks *Θεων τραπέζα* (the table of the gods,) from the beautiful flowers it produced, which rendered it a delightful resort. Of a fine period of Roman art, the reign of Claudius, a good specimen of this class of coin may be cited: it is one struck in honour of Messalina, wife of

* Augustus was proclaimed Emperor 30 B.C., and Gallienus died 268 A.D.

Claudius, at Nicæa, in Bithynia, and has her portrait with an inscription, which may be translated "Messalina Augusta, the New Juno," on the reverse, a temple with the name of the proconsul, C. Cadius Rufus, and ΝΕΙΚΑΕΩΝ, "of the Nicæans."

The finest collection of these coins is that contained in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, which accounts for their great predominance in the illustrations to Pellerin's work.

The Imperial Greek coinage is frequently found counter-marked in a similar manner to the Greek coins of the Independent, or Autonomous period.

Roman money was coined in the Greek provinces, with Latin inscriptions, which was used exclusively for the payment of the army, with a view, perhaps, to keep up their interest in the old language and national recollections during a long residence at foreign stations.

ROMAN COLONIAL COINS.

The Roman colonial coins, by far the greatest number of which belong to Spain, have a few features which must not be passed over here, though like the Greek Imperial series, few of them are well executed. They have almost invariably the letters COL. for *colonia*, and indicate by their types whether the colony by which they were issued was an agricultural or military one. The former is distinguished by a figure driving a plough drawn by oxen, in which manner it was customary to mark out the boundary of a new colony. The military colonies, however, have seldom this type, but have instead, one, two, or three legionaries bearing their ensigns, with their numbers, and suitable inscriptions. Vaillant published a work exclusively devoted to Roman colonial coins, which is still perhaps the most copious book of reference on the subject. The colonial was a form of provincial government which prevailed principally in the Augustan age.

Spain—where the greater number of colonial coins were issued—was also the chief seat of Western Municipia, or towns governed by their own laws. The privilege of striking their own coins was, however, withdrawn from many of these cities, as early as the reign of Caligula; and after the time

of Gallienus both colonial and municipal coins, with very few exceptions, entirely disappear. The best known Spanish coins of this character belong chiefly to Carthago Nova, now *Carthagena*; Cæsarea Augusta, corrupted *Saragossa*; and Emerita, the present *Merida*.

The quantity of Roman copper money in Spain must have been enormous, numbers of ancient Roman coins being in circulation even to the present day, worn, it is true, in most cases, to flat pieces of copper. The lively author of "The Gatherings of Spain" informs us that "the maravedi, or small copper money, is represented by *anything*; even an old button passing among multitudinous specimens of Spanish mints of all periods, Moorish and even Roman money being still current."

Among the most remarkable colonial coins are those of the colony of Nemausus, in Gaul, the only colony permitted to strike silver, and those of Panormus, now Palermo, in Sicily, Carthage, Corinth, Philippi, and Pella in Macedonia, and Iconium, &c. in Asia Minor. Many other places might be cited as the seats of colonial coinages, more or less remarkable; but an extended list would be incompatible with the limits of this work.

There are many Spanish and Carthaginian coins of the Imperial period, still bearing Punic characters, showing them to have been still understood and in use at that period. Pellerin says that there is more difficulty in distinguishing the characters that are *Punic*, than those having the pure Phœnician characters.

Some few of the types of colonial coins are singular; for instance, a crocodile chained to a palm tree, or those of Nemausus, emblematic of the subjection of Egypt—a type common and appropriate on the coins of Augustus and Agrippa, but apparently inconsistent on those of Nemausus; the fortified gate of the city of Emerita bearing the inscription Emerita Augusta. The sacred stone called El-gabal, with an eagle standing on it, carried to Rome by Heliogabalus, from which he took his surname, occurs on the colonial coins of *Emissa*; and other coins of the same place show the stone placed within a temple on an altar. On the Imperial Greek coins of Samos is seen a deity of Archaic form, representing the Samian Juno.

The Roman colonial coins frequently bore Latin inscriptions even when the language of the country was Greek, in which case they have the word *Colonia* abbreviated as COL., which, when in Greek characters, is written ΚΟΛ. The following is a description of an *autonomic* colonial coin, a colony governed by its own laws, of a late date; it is of the city of Viminia, in Mœsia. It bears the portrait of the Emperor Gordianus Pius, with the inscription IMP(erator) PIVS. FEL(IX) AVG(ustus); on the reverse is a female figure holding two standards, inscribed with the respective numbers VII. and IIII.; at her feet are a lion and a bull. The numbers are those of two legions represented by the two standards, and the lion and bull are their respective symbols; beneath the figure is AN. IIII., "the year 4" of the colony, or the reign of the emperor. The privileges of an autonomous colony



Roman Colonial Coin of Viminia.

were conferred upon this place by Gordian; it is situated in Upper Mœsia, on the river Ister. The *inscription* of the reverse is P. M. S. COL. VIM., to be read "Provinciae Mœsiæ Superioris Colonia Viminia" (of the province of Upper Mœsia, the colony of Viminia). Great numbers of the coins of this colony are found in the Austrian and Hungarian territories.

In the *exergue*, or lower part of the coin, where AN. IIII. stands in the above woodcut, colonial coins have generally three initial letters of the place of mintage, as P. LON. which is supposed to be P(ecunia), LON(dinensis), or "money of the London mint," which is only found on coins of the late epoch of Constantine; sometimes it is M. L. Other provincial and colonial mints marked the coinage in a similar manner.

The Emperor Commodus, among other extravagances, declared that he would make the city of Rome itself a colony, and honour it with the title of *Colonia Commodiana*. In illustration of this threat he positively caused coins similar to colonial ones to be struck on this occasion, and that, with the consent of the Senate! How were the "conscript fathers"

fallen from their high estate. On these coins the emperor is seen with a sacerdotal veil as a priest driving a plough round the circuit of the "*Colonia Commodiana*." From this ancient custom of marking out the limits of a city, it is supposed that *urbs*, or *urbis*, is derived from *orbis*, alluding to the *circuit* first marked out. In yoking the cattle for this purpose, a bull was placed outside and a cow inside, indicating the duties of the men to be abroad, and those of the women at home. The drivers were called *Colonus*—whence the term colony—and also, possibly, its corruption is the modern word *clown*, which originally meant a tiller of the soil.

CHAPTER XXIV.

COINAGE OF ROME FROM THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS TO THAT OF GALLIENUS.

HAVING now briefly described the nature of Greek Imperial and colonial coins, I must at once proceed to the Roman Imperial series of sestertii, commencing with those of Augustus; at the same time giving a brief occasional notice of the gold and silver of each successive reign, when of remarkable character.

In preceding chapters I have endeavoured to trace the origin and progress of the Roman coinage, from the massive copper pieces, which formed the first money of Rome, to the subsequent introduction of silver and gold, and the various modifications which the coinage exhibited towards the close of the Republic. It was not till the reign of Augustus that the coinage of Rome assumed that definite character which it preserved with but slight variation till the end of the reign of Gallienus—a period embracing nearly three centuries; and, with the exception of the disappearance of the large sestertius of bronze, it maintained even to the final breaking up of the Western Empire.

The form of coinage which became firmly established during the reign of the first emperor and his immediate successors, was that which laid the foundation of the coinage of Modern Europe after the fall of Rome, and which, in fact,

continued to be issued from Roman mints until the last fragment of the Eastern Empire, the city of Constantinople, was taken by the Turks in the year 1453 of our era.

It has been shown that the principal silver coin of Rome was the *denarius*, originally founded on the Greek drachma, but eventually made to correspond in value with certain pieces of the existing copper coinage, while the principal gold piece was termed an *aureus*, and was of the value of twenty denarii. These coins were now firmly established as national, and were issued with slight modification in weight, &c., till the end of the Empire. Therefore, when, in the coinage of the following reigns, the *silver* is spoken of, it refers to the denarii, and when the *gold* is spoken of, the *aurei* are referred to.

The greatest interest of the Roman coinage is, however, now centered in the successive issues of the great bronze *sestertius*, commonly termed by collectors "first brass," (but more correctly "first bronze,") to distinguish it from the *dupondius*, of half the size, which I have termed "second bronze," and the reduced "as," which I call "third bronze."

It is upon the superb series of the money of Imperial Rome, comprised in the successive issues of the bronze *sestertius*, that the best examples of Roman monetary art are exhibited, and upon which the greatest number of important historic events are recorded. It was this series of coins which first attracted the attention of modern antiquarians, and the beauty of execution frequently displayed, combined with the high historic interest of the inscriptions and types thus preserved, caused this class of coins, or medals as they were at first improperly termed, to be sought with the greatest avidity; while their study laid the foundation of numismatic science, for our knowledge of the Greek coinage is of much more recent origin. The copper coinage during the Empire, as in the early periods of Rome, was still the national coinage, and though gold and silver were issued by authority of the emperors, the ancient coin of the realm, the national bronze, continued to be issued, *ex Senatûs Consulto*; "by decree of the Senate."

The great number of interesting and important records found on the Roman *sestertii* induced Addison to compare their issue to that of a state gazette—a remark, the force of

which we are compelled to acknowledge when we find such events recorded upon them as the subjection of the antique realm of Egypt—and the announcement of its formation into a mere Imperial province, expressed with such true Roman brevity, in two words—*Ægypta Capta*. We find the destruction of Jerusalem recorded in a similar manner, and with like conciseness—*Judæa Capta*; and on the same series of coins we find, also, the well-known "*Rex Parthis datus*," and the fine device, in which Trajan, after paying the debt of the state, is seen in the act of burning the cancelled bonds. In short, as has been said in a well-known work on the subject, "they delineate with fidelity and preserve with little variation more portraits of real characters—give more perfect representations of implements, dresses, buildings, and symbols—fix precisely more chronological dates—record a greater number of historical events—and afford better traces of manners and customs, than any other class of coins." *

As it would be impossible, in an elementary volume like the present, to give a detailed account of the coins of all three metals, in their various sizes, I have, as previously stated, determined only to describe, in some detail, the series of large bronze. A few of the most remarkable specimens of these will furnish the separate descriptions which in the following pages are arranged in chronological order, as they were issued in each successive reign.

Augustus, the first Emperor of Rome, was born in the year 63 B.C., and was the son of C. Octavius, by Atia, a daughter of Julia, the sister of Julius Cæsar. On the death of his grand-uncle, the young Octavius held a command in Illyricum, from whence he proceeded to Italy, where he first heard of his adoption into the Gens Julia, and of his being named the heir and adopted son of Cæsar. He was saluted Cæsar by the troops stationed at Brundisium, a name which he then assumed, his newly assumed name being Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus. The good fortune which caused him to prevail over all competitors, and placed him at the head of the

* Most of the large bronze here enumerated are selected from the excellent catalogue of Captain Smith, undoubtedly the most interesting account of this series yet given to the public.

Roman Empire, are too well known to require repetition here. The title of Imperator, which had formerly been a mere military distinction, was eventually conferred upon him by the senate in perpetuity, and, in the form it then assumed, signified supreme power in both civil and military affairs, marking, as it became hereditary with his successors, the transition from a republic to a monarchy.

Augustus was a surname existing in the family of Octavius, but was especially conferred by the Senate on the first Roman Emperor, in expression of their veneration for his character; and in this feeling it was that the Greeks translated it Σεβαστος, as found upon coins struck in the Greek portions of the Roman Empire.

The bronze sesterlius had already been coined, previous to the assumption of supreme power by Augustus, but these coins are uninteresting before the reign of the first emperor, as their principal type is a large and rudely executed S. C., for *Senatus Consulto*, "by decree of the senate." The monarchic titles were subsequently, but gradually and slowly, assumed upon this truly national class of Roman money by the first emperor. To pave the way for the permanent appearance of the Imperial portrait and titles on the public coin, it is said that the prudent emperor encouraged the monetary triumvirs to continue to place types relative to their own family history on the coins issued by them, as in the latter times of the Republic. They even continued to place their names upon the coins issued by the first emperors. But in such cases these personages are termed moneyers of Cæsar, of Augustus, &c., instead of, as formerly, the coin being termed of L. Flaminus, or, as the case might be. As an example, I may mention a coin of L. Flaminus Chilo, supposed to be the 1st IIII. Vir (*quartum-vir*) added to the previous officers of the mint, who, being formerly three in number, were styled triumvirs, written III. Vir. The inscription on this coin, accompanying a head of Venus, is IIII. VIR. PRI. FL., which may be read IIII. VIR. PRIMVS. FLANDAE MONETAE. Such a coin, though struck after Cæsar possessed supreme power, and bearing what may be termed his *badge*, the head of Venus Victrix, yet is not termed a coin of Cæsar, but of L. Flaminus; but after the *name* or the *portrait* of Cæsar appear, then the name of

the monetary triumvir sinks into a subordinate position, and he is only termed, as I have said, the *moneyer* of Cæsar, or Augustus, &c.

The first direct step of Augustus in establishing the custom of placing the portrait of the emperor on the coinage, after the manner of the sovereigns of Egypt, Syria, and other eastern monarchies, was effected under cover of that of Julius Cæsar, to whom the Senate had formally decreed that honour. On the earliest sestertii of Augustus, therefore, we find the head of the deified Julius occupying the principal side of the coin, styled "Divus Julius;" while on the reverse the portrait of Augustus appears, as "the son of the god"—alluding to his adoption by his great-uncle. A probably later coin, has on the obverse a beardless portrait of the emperor, wearing a laurel wreath, after the manner of Apollo, with the inscription CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F(ilius) PATER. PATRIAE., "Cæsar Augustus, son of the god, father of his country." The reverse bears a decorated altar, between two cippi or short columns, on which stand winged Victories, with palm branches and laurel garlands; round the coin is the inscription ROM(æ) ET. AVG(usto), "to Rome and to Augustus." By the inscription on the altars to Rome and Augustus, it may be inferred that the name of the people was not yet absorbed in that of Cæsar.

The next coin described is a colonial coin of Spain, of the colony of Cæsarea Augusta, the modern Saragossa.

On the obverse is a head of Augustus, with expressive features, and the simple name, AVGVSTVS. The type of the reverse is a large garland of laurel leaves and berries, encircling the letters C(æsarea) A(ugusta); the name of the colony, Cæsarea Augusta.* The coins of the twelve Cæsars, in Plates VI. and VII., are distinct specimens from those described here.

Few of the copper coins struck in the Greek dependencies of Rome, and generally classed with *Imperial Greek*, are remarkable, except for portraits of members of the Imperial family not found on the money of Roman mintage. But some silver tetradrachms, bearing a noble portrait of Augustus, executed in some part of the oriental possessions, are

* Both these coins are from the catalogue of Captain Smith, Nos. 4 and 6.

very fine and, precisely in the style of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ, being, perhaps, the last example of that style of coin; as the Roman denarius, with its peculiar character of execution, soon superseded nearly all other silver coins in the Roman world.

Of the silver denarius of the reign of Augustus there is a great variety of types, and a collection of above 250 may be formed; some being very rare, but the majority less rare than the silver of most other reigns, and some so common as only to be worth their intrinsic value in silver—about one shilling. But some of these pieces, restored by Trajan, are extremely rare, and are worth 8*l.* or 10*l.* The aureus, or gold coin, of this reign is also abundant, and the common types are not worth more than twenty-five shillings; while others, with rare reverses, are worth from 2*l.* to 10*l.* A gold medallion of large size of this reign was discovered in the ruins of Herculaneum, and was published by Kehl.

The coinage of the two classes of lesser bronze, was also abundant, as also the restorations by Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan.

The Imperial Greek coinage, first bronze of the reign of Augustus, is rare, but common in middle and small bronze.

The Alexandrian coinage in this reign is not rare, and bears portraits of different members of the Imperial family. The custom of placing portraits of various members of the reigning family on the public coinage originated with the first reign of the Empire, and coins of the Imperial family are perhaps more abundant in that reign than any subsequent one.

There are coins of the Empress Livia, of the Greek colony of Romulea, of the colony of Patras, and of the Spanish colony of Emerita—first bronze; and of Roman coinage in second bronze; where she appears in the characters of Justice and Piety. Coins of Livia are somewhat more rare in Imperial Greek, especially with the portrait of Tiberius, and with the portrait facing that of Augustus.

Coins of Agrippa are found, in gold, but are rare in the fourth degree, and worth 50*l.* or 60*l.*; they are less rare in silver, but still very valuable, and more so as restored by Trajan.

There are first bronze of Agrippa, of the colony of Gades

(Cadiz), and second bronze of other colonies. Coins with his portrait are more rare in Imperial Greek, small bronze; but in Roman second bronze they are common. Coins of his youngest son are also found, but only of the colony of Corinth.

Coins of Julia, the daughter of Augustus and wife of Agrippa, occur in middle bronze, apparently struck at Carthage, and also in small bronze, Imperial Greek; but both are rare.

Coins of Caius and Lucius, the grandsons of Augustus, are found in first bronze of some colonies, and in middle and small bronze, both of Roman mintage and Imperial Greek.

COINS OF THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS, FROM 14 TO 37 A.D.

Tiberius was declared emperor on the death of Augustus, A.D. 14 (being his adopted son). He was assassinated by Macro at Misenum, A.D. 37, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

Tiberius was a son of Tiberius Claudius Nero, by his wife Livia, previous to her marriage with Augustus, and it is conjectured that she caused the death of the two sons of Augustus, Caius and Lucius, to make way for her own offspring. The large bronze of this reign is very scarce, having been called in by the Senate after the death of Tiberius, as a public expression of the odium in which his disgraceful reign was held both by the Senate and people.

One of the earliest first bronze of this reign has for type of the obverse a head of the emperor, without laurel, looking to the left. The inscription is TI(berius) CAESAR. AVG(VSTI). F(ilius) IMPERATOR. V., "Tiberius Cæsar, son of Augustus, Imperator for the fifth time."

The type of the reverse is an altar decorated with a laurel crown, and some wreaths between two short columns, surmounted by winged Victories, similar to the coin Augustus described in the last reign; it also bears the same inscription, ROM(ae) ET AVG(usto) "To Rome and to Augustus."

This coin has a small figure of Tiberius seated on a curule chair, with his foot on a stool. His right hand holds a lance. The whole is surrounded by the inscription, CIVITATIBVS.

ASIAE. RESTITVTIS. in allusion to the Asiatic cities restored by Tiberius after a destructive earthquake. The reverse of this coin bears the accidental incused impression of the obverse.

On the reverse of other coins, not accidentally incused, as this appears to be, is the inscription TI(berius) CAESAR, DIVI. AVG(usti) F(ilius) AVG(ustus), P(ontifex) M(aximus), TR(ibunitia), POT(estate) XXIII. "Tiberius Cæsar, son of Augustus the God, Augustus, Superior Pontiff, exercising the tribunitian power for the twenty-fourth time."

His coins in first bronze are less rare in colonial coins than of Roman mintage, but equally rare in Imperial Greek.

They are much more plentiful in middle and small bronze, both of the colonial and Roman mintage.

The gold coin of the reign is common, but more rare with the head of Augustus on the reverse. The restored pieces by Titus are, however, very rare; as are the gold quinarii or half-aureus.

The silver coins are equally common, but they occur also in Imperial Greek, which are more rare.

The coins bearing portraits of the other members of the Imperial family are abundant in this reign. Those of Drusus, the son of Tiberius, poisoned by his own wife, Livilla, at the instigation of the infamous favourite, Sejanus, are common in middle bronze of Roman mintage, but rare with the portrait of Tiberius on the reverse. In first bronze they are rare with the portrait of Drusus, as is also the very fine coin with those of his two children placed on two cornucopiæ. Similar family portraits are found also in middle bronze Imperial Greek and colonial; and there is a rare coin of middle bronze struck at Sardis, on which Drusus and Germanicus appear on curule chairs as brothers.

Of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, whose character forms a strange contrast to that of his depraved brother, there are coins both in gold, silver, and copper. The first bronze were not struck till the reign of Claudius, but none are very rare.

Antonia, the wife of the last-mentioned Drusus, was a daughter of the celebrated triumvir, Marcus Antonius, and his

COINS OF THE FIRST XII CAESARS &c.&c.



TIBERIUS

1ST BR.



G



CALIGULA & DRUSILLA

1ST BR.

CALIGULA



G



AGRIPPINA

1ST BR.

CLAUDIUS



G



MESSALINA

1ST BR.

NERO



wife, Octavia, the sister of Augustus. She became the mother of Germanicus. She was much esteemed by the Emperor Tiberius, and coins were struck in her honour, which are found in gold and silver not uncommonly, and in *potin* of Egyptian mintage. First bronze struck by Claudius are rare, but the middle bronze coins with the portrait of Antonia, are common of Roman mintage, but rare of Imperial Greek and of the colonies.

The portrait of Germanicus, the son of Drusus and Antonia, is found on gold and silver coins of the reign of Tiberius, and also on first bronze; but the latter are of extreme rarity, though they are plentiful on the middle bronze, and not very rare on middle and small bronze of the colonies and Imperial Greek; on the latter, the reverses sometimes bear the portrait of his wife Agrippina, or his son Caligula. Of Agrippina, the mother of the wife of Germanicus, there are rare coins of first bronze, and more common ones of second bronze, both of Rome and the colonies. The fine first bronze, on which is represented the sacred *carpentum* drawn by mules, in which is placed the statue of Agrippina, is a well-known coin, though rare. Nero and Drusus, the two eldest sons of Germanicus, appear only on the middle brass coins of Roman mintage, and on one or two colonial ones.

THE REIGN OF CALIGULA, FROM 37 TO 41 A.D.

C. Caius Cæsar, the third son of Germanicus, surnamed Caligula, was the adopted son of Tiberius. He was declared Imperator, A.D. 37, and after a reign of four years, was assassinated 41 A.D. The *first bronze* coins of this reign are extremely rare, as they were called in by the Senate in execration for the memory of the tyrant. The second and third bronze appear, however, to have escaped the edict, as they are tolerably common.

His coins are of fine workmanship, especially the first bronze, with the portraits of his three sisters, towards whom he is accused of exhibiting more than fraternal affection. His surname, Caligula, never appears on his coins, where his name reads simply Caius Cæsar. Descriptions of two of his finest bronze coins follow below.

The first bears the laureated portrait of Caligula, with

the inscription, C(aius)CAESAR · GERMANICVS · PON(tifex), M(aximus), TR(ibunitia) POT(estate). "Caius Cæsar Germanicus, High Pontiff, exercising the tribunitian power." On the reverse, the three sisters of Caligula are represented as three elegant female figures, with the attributes of deities. The first, leaning on a cippus, or short column, typifies Constancy; the second, with a patera, denotes Piety; and the third holds a rudder, to signify Fortune; round these figures are the names AGRIPPINA · DRUSILLA · IVLIA.

The portrait of the emperor on the obverse is accompanied by the inscription C(aius) CAESAR · DIVI · AVG(usti), PRON(epos), AVG(ustus) P(ontifex), M(aximus), TR(ibunitia) P(otestate), IIII. P(atriæ). "Caius Cæsar, nephew of Augustus, the god, Augustus, High Pontiff, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power for the fourth time." The reverse bears the emperor in senatorial garments, standing on a tribunal before a curule chair, haranguing five military figures holding eagles. A thunderbolt is represented on each of their shields, by which it has been conjectured that they must belong to the famous legion Fulminatrix. It bears the words ADLOCVT(io) COH(ortium), "the allocution of the cohorts, or address to the military."

His gold coins are rare, but the silver tolerably plentiful, except in Imperial Greek. Some middle bronze Imperial Greek of this reign have still the portrait of Augustus on the reverse.

The coins bearing portraits of members of the Imperial family are rare in this reign, except those of his sisters Cæsonica, Julia, and Drusilla. Of Drusilla, there are Imperial Greek coins of second bronze struck in her memory, and of Julia in small bronze Imperial Greek, and disputed ones, of the Spanish colony of Carthagera.

COINS OF THE REIGN OF CLAUDIUS, FROM 41 TO 54 A.D.

Claudius was raised to the throne by the military after the murder of the previous emperor, 41 A.D., being then in his fifty-ninth year. He reigned thirteen years, and died, aged seventy-two, as is suspected, poisoned by his wife Agrippina, 54 A.D.

All three sizes of the bronze coinage of this reign are

easily procured. The silver and gold are particularly interesting to English collectors, as bearing records of the final subjugation of Britain, and of the triumphs decreed by the Roman Senate on that occasion.

The following are descriptions of two very fine first bronze. The inscriptions are peculiar, as omitting the date of the tribunitian power.

The first example is a coin bearing on the obverse an excellent portrait of the emperor, with a laurel wreath, and the inscription, TI(berius) CLAVDIVS·AVG(ustus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) IMP(erator) P(ater) P(atriæ): "Tiberius Claudius Augustus, High Pontiff, (*exercising*) tribunitian power, Imperator, father of the country."

The reverse has a figure of Drusus (his father) on horseback, between two military trophies, and the inscription NERO·CLAVDIVS·DRVSVS·GERMAN(icus) IMP(erator): "Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, Imperator."

The second example bears the laureated portrait of Claudius, looking to the right, with the inscription TI(berius) CLAVDIVS·CAESAR·AVG(ustus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) IMP(erator) P(ater) P(atriæ): "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus, Superior Pontiff, (*exercising*) tribunitian power, Imperator, father of the country." On the reverse is a figure of Hope attired in light robes, holding a flower to two soldiers, with the words SPES·AVGVSTA.

On the middle bronze, of colonial mintage, the portraits of the children of Claudius are occasionally found, but they are rather rare, as are the Imperial Greek of the same size with the portrait of his father Drusus, and those with that of his mother Antonia, while those with the head of his wife Agrippina are more common.

His gold coins are common, but those bearing rare reverses are much sought, and therefore expensive, especially such as have the triumphal arch decreed on the conquest of Britain, and others of the same class.

The silver is nearly equally abundant, but reverses, such as those just alluded to in the gold, render them valuable.

Portraits of Messalina, Agrippina, and Britannicus, appear on the coinage of this reign. The finest are found

on small bronze of the colonies, very rare, while on first bronze Imperial Greek these portraits are still more rare.

The coins of Agrippina, the younger, are the first of a female member of the imperial family, struck in gold and silver during her lifetime.* The large bronze coins bearing her portrait, are extremely rare, both of Roman and Imperial Greek mintage. Of the other sizes of Roman copper, none are known but in middle and third Imperial Greek; they are far more rare.

There is a noble first bronze of Britannicus in the cabinet of Vienna, and several Imperial Greek exist, but they are by some supposed to be forgeries.

COINS OF THE REIGN OF NERO, FROM 54 TO 68 A.D.

Nero was adopted by Claudius, by means of the intrigues of his mother Agrippina, and succeeded to the throne in the year 54 A.D. He died by his own hand in the year 68 A.D., after a disgraceful reign of fourteen years.

His coins are among the very finest of the whole Roman series, and his love of the arts is a solitary redeeming ray on one of the darkest and most despicable characters in history. The noble coin of the first bronze series with the *Decursio* type, is a model of monetary art, as are many of his portraits, in which, their consummate artists, doubtless Greek, have found means to invest even the coarse features of Nero with a certain grandeur and dignity peculiar to this period of Roman monetary art.

A fine first bronze coin of this reign bears on the obverse a characteristic profile of the Emperor, turned to the left. It has the inscription IMP(erator) NERO · CAESAR · AVG(ustus) PONT(ifex) MAX(imus) TR(ibunitia) POT(estate) P(ater P(atriæ): "Imperator Nero Cæsar Augustus, High Pontiff, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power, father of the country."

The type of the reverse is a magnificent triumphal arch, with the victor standing in a quadriga, forming a decorative group on its summit. Between the columns is seen a very colossal statue, probably the famous golden statue erected

* The former examples having been confined to the copper coinage.

in the forum. There is no inscription, except the S.C. in the field.

On another fine specimen of the same class, the type of the obverse is a frowning head of Nero, in very high relief, with the Gorgon's head as an amulet upon his breast; the inscription is NERO · CLAVD(ius) CAESAR · AVG(ustus) GERM(anicus) · P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otes-tate) IMP(erator) P(ater) P(atriæ): "Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, High Pontiff, father of the country." The reverse bears a figure of the emperor seated upon a rich tribunal near a temple, in front of which is a colossal statue of Rome. By his side is an assistant, and before him an officer presenting the tablet of liberality to a citizen, with the inscription CONG(iarium) II. DAT(um), POP(ulo): "the second congiary given to the people."*

The coins of Nero are abundant in all metals and all sizes, as well Roman as colonial, Greek and Egyptian. Of his wives, however, there are few of Roman mintage, and they are rare in any other class. The portrait of Octavia, whose beauty and virtue could not save her from repudiation and death, is found on several foreign coins. Poppæa, her depraved, but beautiful successor, is found most commonly on the *potin* coinage of Alexandria, and her daughter Claudia, who died at four months old, has a small brass coin struck in her memory. The portrait of his third wife, Statilia Messalina, is only found on Imperial Greek money.

GALBA, FROM 68 TO 69 A.D.

This emperor is said to be the last descended from the ancient Roman families, his mother being the great-grand-daughter of Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth. He was born B.C. 3, and declared Imperator by the soldiers in 68 A.D., in the 71st year of his age; but before he had been on the throne eight months he was slain in a camp tumult, on refusing to give the soldiers the accustomed bribe. This event occurred in the year 69 A.D.

* *Congiarium* is derived from *congius*, a vessel containing a certain measure of wine, such as was originally distributed to the people; which, as Quintilian says, became a name for all the public donations, whether oil, wine, or money.

Fine first bronze of this emperor are by no means rare, though he reigned so short a time. The following are fine examples. The first has for the type of the obverse a fine profile of Galba, with the inscription SER(gius) GALBA · IMP(erator) CAESAR · AVG(ustus) T(ribunitia) P(otestate): "Sergius Galba, Imperator Cæsar Augustus, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power." The reverse has the legend S(enatus) P(opulus) Q(ue) R(omanus) OB CIV(es) SER(vatos), "the Senate and the Roman people for the faithful citizens," in the centre of a civic crown, composed of a garland of broad oak leaves—which was the crown decreed to such as had saved the life of a Roman citizen; this coinage having been issued, most probably, in allusion to Galba's rescue of the Roman people from Nero. The second bears on the obverse the laureated head of Galba, and the inscription SERG(ius) GALBA · IMP(erator) CAES(ar) AVG(ustus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate); "Sergius Galba Imperator Cæsar Augustus, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power." The type of the reverse is a bold standing figure of Victorious Rome; the right hand holding a figure of Victory, with a crown and cornucopiæ, as symbols of power and abundance; and the left holding a wand surmounted with wings, the elbow resting on a trophy. The inscription—ROMA · R(emissa) XL., "the fortieth remitted to Rome"—shows that the coin was struck in commemoration of the abolition of an impost.

The coins of Galba are rare in gold; but the silver, as well as the first and second bronze, are common, except the restitutions by Titus, which are much sought by collectors. The colonial, the Greek Imperial, and Alexandrian coins are also procured without much difficulty.

OTHO, ASCENDED THE THRONE AND DIED IN 69 A.D.

This prince was born in A.D. 32; became emperor in 69; and after a reign of three months and five days, put an end to his life after his defeat at the battle of Bedriacum by Vitellius, who had been chosen emperor in Germany.

There are no senatorial bronze coins of this reign; the coin of second bronze in the Florentine collection is a restitution by Titus. A first bronze of Otho has therefore been the great but hopeless desideratum of collectors, from

Addison and Queen Christina, to the present time. Captain Smith has supplied the deficiency in his interesting catalogue by a description of a first bronze of Antioch, the oriental mints having struck bronze money of this emperor, perhaps after his fall, but before the news of his sudden reverse reached them.

His gold is not very rare, and the silver less so; while the bronze, even of the provinces, is exceedingly scarce; the large bronze of Egypt being rated as of the fourth degree of rarity.

VITELLIUS, ASCENDED THE THRONE AND WAS
MURDERED IN 69 A.D.

The ninth emperor of Rome was born about the year 15 A.D.; he overthrew Otho 69 A.D.; and was then declared emperor. His triumph, however, was of short duration; for this monster of gluttony,* and almost every vice, was murdered in the latter end of the same year, after a reign of a few months. The bronze coinage of this reign is exceedingly rare; and cleverly-altered coins of Vespasian are often palmed upon young collectors as substitutes. The following are descriptions of two undoubted first bronze of Vitellius, from the catalogue of Captain Smith:—The first has for type of the obverse the laureated head of the emperor, with the inscription A(ulus) VITELLIVS · GERMAN(icus) IMP(erator) AVG(ustus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate): “Aulus Vitellius Germanicus Imperator Augustus, High Pontiff, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power.” The reverse bears an elegant and finely-executed figure of Victory, naked to the waist, with the left foot placed upon a helmet. She is writing OB · CIVES · SER(vatos) upon a shield placed against a palm-tree, in allusion to the slaughter of Roman citizens being stayed, by the battle of Bedriacum. This reverse has also the words VICTORIA · AVG(usti): “the victory of Augustus.” In the lower part of the field is S(enatus) C(onsulto): “by decree of the Senate.” The obverse of the second example has a characteristic head of the emperor, and the inscription A(ulus)

* The well-known “*Edunt ut vomant, vomunt ut edant*,” was applied to this monster of gastronomic celebrity.

VITELLIVS · GERMANICVS · IMP(erator) AVG(ustus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate): "Aulus Vitellius Germanicus Imperator Augustus, Superior Pontiff, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power." The type of the reverse is a robed female bearing a cornucopiæ in one hand, and a branch of olive in the other, with the inscription PAX · AVGVSTI: "the peace of Augustus." It commemorates the short peace that followed the death of Otho.

The silver coinage of Vitellius is the only one of which examples are found abundantly. The title of Cæsar is never found upon coins of this reign, a corroboration of history, nor is that of Pater Patriæ found upon coins known to be genuine. Portraits of the father of Vitellius were placed on the gold and silver coinage, but the gold is extremely rare. There are no large bronze of the Colonial or Greek mints, and the lesser sizes are rare.

VESPASIAN, FROM 69 TO 79 A.D.

This emperor, descended from an old Sabine family, was born A.D. 9, and served with great distinction in the Roman armies in Britain under Claudius, in Africa under Nero, and in Mysia, Judæa, and Egypt under Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. He was chosen emperor by his soldiers in the latter part of the year 69 A.D., and after a prosperous and beneficent reign, died in the year 79 A.D., being the first Roman emperor who had died a natural death since Augustus.

The bronze coinage, of Roman mintage, is abundant in this reign; except the very small or fourth bronze. The following is a description of a fine coin of the first bronze. It has for the types of the obverse, a laurelled head of Vespasian, with the inscription IMP(erator) CAES(ar) VESPASIAN(us) AVG(ustus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) P(ater) P(atriæ), CO(n)S(ul) III.: "Imperator Cæsar Vespasian Augustus, High Pontiff, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power, father of the country, Consul for the third time." The reverse has a light-robed female figure presenting her hand to three soldiers, the foremost of whom bears a military standard, the middle one a lance, and the third a sword; which is a rather remarkable type; for, with the exception

of a coin of Vitellius, and those with Titus and Domitian on horseback, a sword is very rarely met with on Roman first bronze. The three soldiers are supposed to represent the three legions of Mysia, Judæa, and Egypt, who were the first to salute Vespasian as emperor. This reverse has the words SPES · AVGVSTA : "august hope."

The colonial and Imperial Greek coins of this reign are all more or less rare, though those of Roman mintage are common in all metals and sizes, except the smallest bronze. The portrait of Domitilla, the wife of Vespasian, though she died before her husband's elevation to the imperial throne, is found upon both gold and silver coins, which are, however, of extreme rarity. They were struck at the time of her deification, and at the time when temples were erected for her worship, when an especial order of priests, termed *Sacerdos Divæ Domitillæ*, was instituted to officiate at her altars.

TITUS, FROM 79 TO 81 A.D.

This emperor was the eldest son of Vespasian and Domitilla. He was born A.D. 41, and succeeded to the empire upon the death of his father, A.D. 79, having been for some time associated in the imperial power before the death of his predecessor. This emperor, the well-known destroyer of Jerusalem, died at Sirmium after a short reign of two years and two months, in A.D. 81, at the age of forty.

Titus, with a view to consolidating the empire, and establishing the public faith in the stability of the imperial government, formally confirmed all the grants and immunities of his predecessors, and even recoined their money to preserve their memory. These restored coins, a class termed *restituti*, are much prized by collectors. Such restitutions, by Titus and his two immediate successors, were of bronze; but Trajan, afterwards, coined them in gold and silver.

The first of the two coins of first bronze about to be described is one of those struck in commemoration of the subjection of Judæa.

The obverse has the laurelled head of the emperor turned to the left, with the inscription IMP(erator) T(itus) CAES(ar) VESP(asianus) AVG(ustus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) P(ater) P(atriæ), CO(n)S(ul) VIII. :

"Titus Cæsar Vespasian Augustus, High Pontiff, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power, father of the country, Consul for the eighth time."

The reverse has IVD(æa) CAP(ta), "Judæa taken," written across the field under S(enatus) C(onsulto), "by decree of the Senate." The palm-tree, symbolising the subdued country, rises in the centre; to the right of the trunk stands the figure of a pinioned captive, probably intended to represent Simon, or some other impersonation of the period of Jewish independence, and on the other side of the tree sits a female figure in the act of weeping, while around them are scattered loose pieces of armour, &c.

The next is a coin which was evidently struck in acknowledgment of the blessings of peace and abundance enjoyed under the beneficent rule of the gentle Titus.

It bears on the obverse the laureated profile of the emperor, turned to the left, with a kind and benevolent expression; the inscription is IMP(erator) T(itus) CAES(ar) VESP(asianus) AVG(ustus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) P(ater) P(atriæ) CO(n)S(ul) VIII.: "the Emperor Titus Cæsar Vespasian Augustus, High Pontiff, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power, father of the country, Consul for the eighth time."

The types of the reverse are two cornucopiæ, filled with corn and fruits, and between them a winged caduceus. The two first are, as is well known, emblematic of plenty, and the last of peace. In the field is S(enatus) C(onsulto): "by decree of the Senate." A large number of the coins of Titus were struck during the life of his father. The TI on his coins stands for Tiberius, and the T for Titus. His coins are more rare of the Imperial Greek and colonial mintages than of the Roman, the latter being abundant in all metals and sizes.

DOMITIAN, FROM 81 TO 96 A. D.

Domitian was the second son of Vespasian and Domatilla. Born A. D. 51, he was saluted Cæsar A. D. 69, and on the death of his brother, A. D. 81, became emperor. After a reign of fifteen years of unsurpassed wickedness and cruelty he was assassinated in A. D. 96, at the age of forty-five. This

emperor was the last of the Flavian and Cæsarean families, and completes the list of emperors generally termed the twelve Cæsars.

The first example I shall cite of the large bronze of Domitian records the triumph decreed to him by the servile senate, when, in emulation of his brother's military fame, he entered Germany with a large army, and, after encountering no enemy, purchased slaves to personate in the triumphal procession, prisoners of the Catti, a tribe he had never seen. The obverse of this coin bears the laurelled head of Domitian with an amulet on his breast; the inscription is IMP(erator) CAES(ar) DOMIT(ianus) AVG(ustus) GERM(anicus) CO(n)S(ul) XII. CENS(or) PER(petuus) P(ater) P(atriæ): "the Emperor Cæsar Domitian Augustus Germanicus, Consul for the twelfth time, Perpetual Censor, and father of the country."

The type of the reverse is a trophy composed of "German Spoils," on one side of which stands a man with his hands bound behind him, and on the other side, is a sitting female figure weeping. Broken armour is strewed about, the inscription being, GERMANIA·CAPTA: "Germany conquered."

The next specimen is a remarkably fine coin: the obverse bears an animated portrait of the emperor, very carefully executed, and the inscription IMP(erator) CAES(ar) DOMIT(ianus) AVG(ustus) GERM(anicus) CO(n)S(ul) XV. CENS(or) PER(petuus) P(ater) P(atriæ): "the Emperor Cæsar Domitian Augustus Germanicus, Consul for the fifteenth time, Perpetual Censor, and father of the country."

The reverse has a magnificent sitting figure of Jupiter, supporting with his left hand the wand of divinity, and holding in his right a Victory with a garland. The body is bare to the waist, excepting a robe, which descends from the left shoulder down the waist and back, and is gracefully folded over the thighs and legs; the inscription is IOVI·VICTORI: "to victorious Jupiter." It is supposed that Domitian caused this device to be placed on the coinage, in honour of Jupiter, who preserved him in his *defeat* by the Marcomanni, for which disaster, terming it a victory, he triumphed at Rome.

The whole of the coinage of this reign is abundant, of all classes, but some rare reverses are sought by fastidious collectors, for which large prices are given; for instance, the

gold with the portrait of the Empress Domitia on the reverse.

The coins struck in honour of Domitia are found on various classes of Roman coins, and even on the Roman large bronze, of which Captain Smith cites a fine example which there are good grounds for believing genuine.

Coins with the following device were struck both in gold and silver; they bear her effigy, with that of her deified son, sitting on a globe in the midst of seven stars. The Greek Imperial coins of Domitia are less rare.

NERVA, FROM 96 TO 98 A.D.

Marcus Cocceius Nerva was born 32 A.D. at Narnia, in Umbria. Triumphal honours had been conferred upon him by Nero, in 65 A.D., and he was unanimously chosen emperor on the death of Domitian in 96. He died of a fever in the beginning of 98 A.D.

The first of the large bronze coins of Nerva about to be described, refers to the unanimity with which he was elected, both army and navy concurring, with singular cordiality, in their preference for the wise and benignant Nerva.

The obverse bears an expressive laureated profile of Nerva, with the inscription IMP(erator) NERVA · CAES(ar) AVG(ustus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otes-tate) CO(n)S(ul) III · P(ater) P(atriæ): "the Emperor Nerva Cæsar Augustus, High Pontiff, (*exercising*) tribunitian power, Consul for the third time, father of the country."

The type of the reverse is two right hands joined—the symbol of good faith. These hold a military trophy, which is planted on the prow of a ship, and surmounted by a garland and an eagle. This device indicates the unanimity of the army and navy in the election of Nerva. It has also CONCORDIA · EXERCITVM: "the concord of the army."

The next coin described alludes simply to the good fortune of Nerva after his election. The type of the obverse is a bold laurelled head of Nerva, with IMP(erator) NERVA · CAES(ar) AVG(ustus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) CO(n)S(ul) III · P(ater) P(atriæ): "the Emperor Nerva Cæsar Augustus, High Pontiff, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power, Consul for the third time, father of the country."

The reverse has a robed female standing with her right hand on a rudder, and her left supporting a cornucopiæ, emblematic of the goddess Fortune guiding the helm of the State, accompanied by the words, FORTVNA · AVGVSTI: "the fortune of Augustus."

One of the coins struck by Nerva most worthy of remembrance, was that issued on his (virtual) establishment of a poor-law; it is a medal, inscribed "Tutela Italiæ," being struck when the Italian cities were directed to feed their orphans and poor children at the public cost. Specimens of the coinage of Nerva are tolerably plentiful in all classes and metals, and very common in some.

TRAJAN, FROM 98 TO 117 A.D.

Marcus Ulpius Trajanus Crinitus was born at Italica, in Spain; he was adopted by Nerva, A.D. 97, as the most worthy to succeed him. He ascended the imperial throne, 98 A.D., and after a glorious reign of nineteen years, died from a paralytic stroke, 117 A.D.

The three coins of the large bronze series described below can scarcely be said to be among the *most* interesting of the noble series of this glorious reign, as those of high historical interest are so very numerous, but it is believed that they are such as would highly interest a young collector. The first no doubt refers to the defeat of the Dacian Prince Decebalus, who destroyed himself on the fall of his capital; the reverse of which records the assumption of the honourable title Optimus Princeps conferred upon Trajan by the senate. The obverse bears an animated portrait of the emperor, with part of a rich robe thrown over his left shoulder. It has the inscription IMP(eratori) CAES(ari) NERVAE · TRAIANO · AVG(usto) GER(manico) DAC(ico) P(arthico) P(ontifici) M(aximo) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) CO(n)S(uli) V. P(atri) P(atriæ): "to the best Emperor Cæsar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, High Pontiff, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power." The type of the reverse is the emperor on a richly caparisoned horse, who is darting a javelin at a prostrate enemy, who, from bearing the Dacian cap and trousers, may probably represent Decebalus; it has the legend S(enatus)

P(opulus) Q(ue) R(omanus) OPTIMO · PRINCIPI: "the Roman Senate and people to the best Prince."

The next refers to the important historical events related by Dio, in the passage where, describing Trajan's arrival at Ctesiphon, he says, "he assembled the Romans and Parthians, and formally placed the diadem upon the head of Parthamas-pates, thus conferring a sovereign upon the powerful people of Parthia."

The obverse of this remarkable coin has a very expressive laurelled portrait of Trajan, with the robe thrown over his shoulders, and the inscription IMP(eratori) CAES(ari) NER(væ) TRAIANO · OPTIMO · AVG(usto) GER(manico) DAC(ico) PARTHICO · P(ontifici) M(aximo) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) CO(n)S(uli) VI. P(atri) P(atriæ): "to the best Emperor Cæsar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus, High Pontiff, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power, Consul for the sixth time, father of the country."

The type of the reverse is the emperor seated in a curule chair, with a military prefect standing beside him; the former is crowning a king, who is received by a kneeling personification of Parthia. The legend is REX · PARTHIS · DATVS: "a king given to the Parthians." On the exergum is S(enatus) C(onsulto): "by decree of the Senate."

The next example relates to the dedication of the famous Forum, the superb column in which, once supporting the statue of the Emperor, is still perfect, although St. Peter has displaced the imperial Roman on its summit.

The obverse has a laurelled portrait of Trajan, with the shoulders covered by the pallium, and the inscription IMP(eratori) CAES(ari) NERVAE · TRAIANO · AVG(usto) GER(manico) DAC(ico) P(ontifici) M(aximo) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) CO(n)S(uli) VI. P(atri) P(atriæ): "to the Emperor Cæsar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, High Pontiff, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power, Consul for the sixth time, father of the country."

The type of the reverse is a very elegant edifice adorned with sculpture, columns, and the trophies of war; it has, like the generality of Trajan's coins, on the reverse, S(enatus) P(opulus) Q(ue) R(omanus) OPTIMO · PRINCIPI: "the Roman Senate and people to the best Prince." It has also in the

exergum, FORVM·TRAIANI·S(enatus) C(onsulto): "the Forum of Trajan; by decree of the Senate."

The coins of Trajan, of every size and metal, are easily obtainable, except such as bear significant reverses, and some of the coins of former reigns restored by him, which are highly prized.

Of the portraits of the imperial family placed on the coinage in this reign, those of Plotina, the virtuous and excellent empress, hold the first place. They are all, however, rare, both of Roman, colonial, and Greek mintage, the most remarkable being that with the appropriate compliment, ARA PVDICITIAE, inscribed on an altar.

The portrait of Marciana, the sister of the emperor, is found on coins, the inscription being SOROR·IMP(eratoris) TRAIANI: "the sister of the Emperor Trajan." This coin is much sought by collectors.

There are also coins (the genuineness of which is disputed) bearing the portrait of Matidia, the daughter of Marciana.

HADRIAN, FROM 117 TO 138 A.D.

Publius Ælius Hadrianus was a Spaniard by birth, being the son of Hadrianus Afer, the cousin of Trajan. He was married to Sabina, the grand-daughter of Marciana, who was therefore the grand-niece of Trajan. Hadrian was born in A.D. 76, he succeeded Trajan, A.D. 117, at the age of forty-one; and after a prosperous reign of twenty-one years, died at Baia in 138 A.D., at the age of sixty-two.

The coinage of this reign is one of the most important for number, variety, and art, of any in the whole Roman series, and it would be impossible to convey a just idea of it in the confined limits of the present volume. The following description of a few of the fine large bronze will, however, suggest the interest and importance of the general series.

The first example relates to the cancel of the old debt of the state, by the emperor, out of his own funds; which amounted to nine million sesterii.

The type of the obverse of this coin is a bold characteristic bust of Hadrian, laureated; it has the inscription IMP(erator) CAES(ar) TRAIANVS·HADRIANVS·AVG(ustus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) CO(n)S(ul) II.:

"the Emperor Cæsar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, High Pontiff, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power, Consul for the second time." The type of the reverse represents the Emperor setting fire with a torch to a heap of papers, the deeds of the cancelled debts; he is accompanied by three citizens who, with uplifted arms, applaud his conduct. This reverse has the interesting legend, RELIQUA·VETERA·HS. NOVISS·MILL(ies) ABOLITA. HS. stands for Sestertium;* so that the inscription reads, "the ancient debts of the state, amounting to nine millions of sestertii, abolished." In the exergum is the usual S.C., for Senatus Consulto, by decree of the Senate.

The next specimen refers to the arrival of the Emperor Hadrian in Britain, where he landed just in time to prevent a dangerous revolt, and to cause the construction of the great northern wall, to prevent an impending incursion of the Caledonians. The obverse bears the laureated profile of Hadrian, with the chlamys buckled over his right shoulder, with HADRIANVS·AVG(ustus) CO(n)S(ul) III. P(ater) P(atriæ): "Hadrian Augustus, Consul for the third time, father of the country." The type of the reverse is, the emperor adorned with a toga, and a majestic robed female on the right hand; this figure holds a patera over an altar, from which rises a flame; the victim at her side denotes the sacrifice made by the Britons as a token of their joy and happiness on the arrival of the Emperor Hadrian in their country. It has the legend ADVENTVI·AVG(usti) BRITANNIÆ: "of the advent of Augustus in Britain." In the exergum is S(enatus) C(onsulto): "by decree of the Senate." This inscription bears reference to his arriving, as stated, just in time to quell a rebellion which had broken out.

The following, and last specimen I shall describe, commemorates his residence in Alexandria, and is of as remarkably fine execution as any coin of Roman mintage of any period.

The type of the obverse is a laurelled head of the emperor, with a benevolent expression, and in fine relief: it has the simple inscription HADRIANVS·AVG(ustus) CO(n)S(ul) III.: "Hadrian Augustus, Consul for the third time."

* For modes of writing *Sestertii*, to express different numbers, see Chapter on Roman values, types, &c.

The reverse of this coin is very beautiful in design: a river god of colossal proportion, whose upper part is undraped, bears a reed in his left hand, and a cornucopiæ in his right; this hand is resting upon a sphynx accompanied by a small figure. He is surrounded by three children, one of whom is riding upon a white hippopotamus; in the foreground is a crocodile, with an aquatic plant. The urn, which always represents the source of a river in monetary types, is hidden, that of the Nile being unknown. This reverse has the word *NILVS*, "the Nile." In the exergum is *S(enatus) C(onsulto)*: "by decree of the Senate."

The coins of Hadrian are abundant in all sizes and metals, of Roman, of colonial, and of Imperial Greek mintage: the first bronze of the two latter classes are, however, somewhat rare.

The portrait of Sabina, the wife of Hadrian, is found upon coins of various metals and sizes, especially upon Roman large bronze: the most sought are, those with the *carpentum*, or sacred funereal car—those with the consecration—and those of the apotheosis, on which latter a figure of Sabina is seen, borne to heaven between the wings of an eagle.

The coins struck in honour of his favourite, Antinöus, and in honour of his infamous passion for the beautiful Bythinian, are sometimes very fine, though none of them are of Roman mintage, and an accomplished but fastidious numismatist says that they ought to be excluded from every collection.

Coins of *Ælius*, the adopted son of Hadrian, are by no means rare, and are found of several sizes and metals; but the gold and silver are more scarce. Captain Smith cites two specimens of first bronze; the reverse of one being a figure of Fortune, in allusion to his adoption by the Emperor, and the other a personification of the province he governed, *Pannonia*.

ANTONINUS PIUS, FROM 138 TO 161 A.D.

Titus Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Arrius was born at Lanuvium, in Latium, A.D. 86. He was adopted by Hadrian, whose name he took on the death of *Ælius*, and succeeded to the throne the same year, A.D. 138. After reigning twenty-three years, in almost continuous prosperity,

he died of a fever, at Larium, in Etruria, in the year 161 A.D., at the age of 74. After his accession he assumed the names of Titus, Ælius, Hadrianus, and also Antoninus.

His coins, of every class except the lesser bronze, are abundant and of very various types; from which the four following, of the large bronze series, are selected as fair examples. The first has, for the type of the obverse, an expressive laureated profile of Antoninus, with his neck bare and the inscription ANTONINVS · AVG(ustus) PIVS · P(ater) P(atriæ) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) CO(n)S(ul) III.: "Antoninus Augustus Pius, father of the country, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power, Consul for the third time." The reverse bears the simple head of the youthful Marcus Aurelius, with curly hair. This device is surrounded by AVRELIVS · CAESAR · AVG(ustus) PII · F(ilius) CO(n)S(ul): "Aurelius Cæsar, son of Pius Augustus, Consul." In the field is S(enatus) C(onsulto): "by decree of the Senate." This coin was struck to commemorate the adoption of Marcus Aurelius by Antoninus Pius.

The next specimen refers to the pacification of Britain in this reign. The obverse bears a laureated head of the emperor, and has the inscription ANTONINVS · AVG(ustus) PIVS · P(ater) P(atriæ) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) CO(n)S(ul) III.: "Antoninus Pius Augustus, father of the country, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power, Consul for the third time." The reverse has the inscription BRITANNIA, and the type is a martial figure, with attributes, in close resemblance to those of Mars, seated in repose upon a rock, as a symbol of tranquillity being restored: the right hand is holding a military standard, and the left, which rests on a shield, holds a spear. In the exergum is S(enatus) C(onsulto): "by decree of the Senate." This reverse is the origin of the figure of Britannia, adopted for the reverse of the English copper coinage in the reign of Charles II.

The next and last specimen to be here described was struck after the deification of the emperor, and thus appropriately forms one of the last of his series. The obverse of this coin has a portrait of the deified emperor, with the hair cut close and without the laurel. It has DIVVS · ANTONINVS: "the god Antoninus."

The type of the reverse is the celebrated Antonine

column, constructed in imitation of that of Trajan, with a colossal statue of the Emperor on its summit. It has the legend *DIVO. PIO*, to the God Pius. In the field is *S(enatus) C(onsulto)*: "by decree of the senate."

The portraits of the Empress Faustina on the public coinage of this reign, are very abundant, though she died within three years after her husband's accession; for the abominable profligacy of her character did not prevent a servile senate from conferring divine honours upon her at the request of her husband. The most prized of the gold coins of Faustina are those with the legend *PVELLAE FAVSTINIANAE*, struck in commemoration of the establishment of an asylum for orphans named in her honour.

Of the son of Faustina and Antoninus, who died in his infancy, there are no Latin coins, but the Greek mints issued a few bearing his portrait and the inscription *M. ΓΑΛΕΡΙΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΟΥ ΥΙΟC* (*M. Galerius Antoninus, son of the emperor Antoninus*), the portrait being a beautifully executed infantine head. The reverse has a veiled head of his mother, with the inscription *ΘΕΑ ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ*: "the Goddess Faustina."

MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS, FROM 161 to 180 A.D.

Marcus Annius Verus, Catilius Severus, son of the Prætor Annius Verus, was adopted by Antoninus after the death of his own infant son, and assumed the name of Aurelius, at the suggestion of Hadrian, who also caused Antoninus at the same time to adopt Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus, the son of Ælius Verus. Antoninus associated Marcus with himself in the administration of the empire; but perceiving the bad qualities of Lucius Verus, gave him no share in the government. When, however, Aurelius came to the throne, his sense of justice caused him to call his adopted brother, Lucius, to share with him the supreme power; and their joint rule is the finest example of the kind in the annals of the Roman Empire—a fact frequently recorded, by various types, on coins both of Roman and Greek Imperial mintage. Aurelius was married to Faustina, the younger daughter of Antoninus and Faustina, the elder.

He died in the year 180 A.D., universally regretted as one of the best and most prosperous of the Roman emperors.

Coins of Aurelius are abundant and inexpensive in all metals and forms, and the observation of Addison, that the coinage of a Roman emperor was, in fact, his digested annals, applies, perhaps, more especially to this reign than any other; for coins bearing the portrait of this emperor (struck under Antoninus Pius) exhibit him in infancy; those struck by the senate at his death exhibit his apotheosis; while almost every intermediate stage of his career is recorded upon various intermediate issues of the national money. The first specimen is a very characteristic one.

The obverse bears a bearded and manly head of Aurelius, with the inscription, IMP(erator) CAES(ar) M(arcus) AVREL(ius) ANTONINVS. AVG(ustus) P(ontifex) M(aximus). "The Emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Chief Pontiff (*exercising*) the tribunitian power." The type of the reverse, as before alluded to, is Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, facing each other, wearing the toga, and bare-headed. The likenesses are admirably preserved, though on so small a scale. These figures are taking each other by the right hand, in token of the concord with which the two emperors ruled the Roman world. It has the legend CONCORD(ia) AVG(ustorum) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) XVI. "The concord of the Augustus's (*exercising*) the tribunitian power for the sixteenth time." This coin was probably struck to commemorate the visit which Marcus Aurelius paid to Lucius Verus at Canusium upon hearing that he had been taken ill.

The other specimen I have selected for description is the finely executed sestertius (or first bronze, as it is now termed,) struck by the senate on occasion of his death and deification.

The obverse bears a very expressive profile of the emperor without the laurel, the hair and beard carefully trimmed in curls, with DIVVS M(arcus) ANTONINVS PIVS: "the God Marcus Antoninus Pius."

The type of the reverse represents Aurelius seated on the back of an eagle, carrying a thunderbolt in its talons, and flying towards the heavens. The emperor holds forth his right hand in the attitude of allocution, and in his left bears a sceptre. The word CONSECRATIO appears in the field

with S(enatus) C(onsulto). So much was this monarch adored by his subjects that whoever did not possess a portrait of him was considered a sacrilegious person.

I have in general refrained from describing the *medallions* of the Roman series, as being either not real coins, or, such as our 5*l.* gold pieces, not struck for general circulation; but the large copper medallion, described and engraved by Mionnet, in his work "*De la Rareté et du Prix des Medailles Romaines*," is so remarkable as to justify an exception, especially as the age of the Antonines is the great age of Roman bronze medallions. The reverse is inscribed, "*Temporum Felicitas*," and the type is Hercules, with a trophy, in a triumphal chariot drawn by four centaurs, each holding a different symbol, apparently those of the seasons. The workmanship is very fine, and it is one of the best examples of the art of die engraving of the period.

Lucius Cocinius Commodus Ælius Aurelius Verus was associated with Marcus Aurelius in 161 A.D., but only reigned eight years in conjunction with that emperor, dying in the year 169 A.D. at Altinum, in his thirty-ninth year, after a life of the grossest dissipation and debauchery.

The coins of this emperor are numerous, and often of the same types as those of his colleague. Occasionally, especially on some of Greek Imperial mintage, the portraits of both emperors appear. On such coins of Roman mintage, the inscription CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM (the concord of the emperors) is found. On the coin of Lucius Verus, of the first bronze series, which I have selected for description, the type of the obverse is a boldly executed portrait of the emperor, the hair and beard carefully dressed, and a robe thrown over his left shoulder: it has the inscription IMP(erator) CAES(ar) L(ucius) AVREL(ius) VERVS AVG(ustus): "the Emperor Cæsar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus."

The reverse bears a large prætorian galley, with the luxurious emperor reclining beneath a canopy. There are six rowers, and Captain Smith remarks, with true nautical accuracy, that "the vessel is propelled with the wind aft." This coin was struck in 163 A.D., as a kind of commemoration for the safe deliverance of Verus from the pe ri

of the sea on the occasion of his voyage from Rome to Athens.

The coins of the Empress Faustina Junior, the wife of Marcus Aurelius, are common in nearly all metals and sizes, and yet a well-known modern forgery exists of a first bronze of this empress, so beautifully executed that it has been attributed to Benvenuto Cellini; but Captain Smith rather refers it to the cunning graver of Lewis Lee. The reverses of the coins of this abandoned woman, who appears to have inherited all the vices of her mother, and none of the virtues of her father, are occasionally a figure of Pudicitia (Modesty). The servility of the senate could go no further, unless there was a satire hidden within the specious device. Some of the most remarkable devices of her coins are, the one with the *Matri Castorum*, mother of the cohorts, or of the camps, struck, perhaps, when she accompanied her husband to the East, and died in the camp at the foot of Mount Taurus; her coins of the "*consecratio*" type, where she is represented as borne to heaven between the wings of an eagle, have on the reverse a car drawn by elephants, in which is borne the golden statue of the empress, with the legend *ÆTERNITAS*.

The coins of Annia Lucilla, the daughter of Marcus Aurelius, married to Lucius Verus, are common in large and middle bronze, as well as silver: the gold, and those struck in Greece and the colonies are more rare.

Of Annius Verus, the son of Aurelius and Faustina, who died in his infancy, coins are extremely rare; the one with his portrait on the reverse, and that of his elder brother, Commodus, on the obverse, is a fine specimen of the art of this period.

COMMODUS, FROM 180 A.D. TO 193.

Marcus Ælius Aurelius Commodus Antoninus, son of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Junior, was born at Lanuvium, a town in Latium, 161 A.D., made Cæsar at the age of five, and "Prince of the Youth" (*Princeps Juventutis*), at fourteen. He accompanied his father into the East, and on their return the following year (176 A.D.) he was saluted Emperor, associated in the government of the empire, and

also shared the triumphal car with his father. He was married to Crispina in the year 177 A.D., and had received the titles of Augustus and Pater Patriæ when only sixteen. On the death of his father, in 180, he ascended the imperial throne, and after a reign of thirteen years, of folly, oppression, and cruelty, was murdered by the connivance of Marcia, one of his concubines, in the year 193 A.D.

The miserable reign of Commodus forms a strange contrast to those of "the five good Emperors," as his five immediate predecessors have been termed; but the coinage of his reign yields in beauty to none since that of Trajan.

His coins are abundant in every form and metal, from his boyhood till his death; and his "medallions" have been cited by Winkelman as among the most exquisite specimens of Roman art.

It would be impossible to enumerate examples even of a small portion of the varieties of the coinage of this reign, but the following three specimens of large bronze will convey a tolerably accurate idea of the style of the remainder.

The first was struck to commemorate the close of the German war, and perhaps also the bestowing of the title *Princeps Juventutis* on the youthful Commodus. The *obverse* has a remarkably handsome portrait of this Prince, bare-headed, with the inscription L(ucio) AVREL(io) COMMODO. CAESAR(i) AVG(usti) FIL(io) GERM(anico) SARM(atico): "to Lucius Aurelius Commodus Cæsar, son of Augustus Germanicus Sarmaticus." The type of the *reverse* is a figure of Commodus in magnificent attire, bearing a lance pointed downwards in the left hand, and a branch of laurel in his right. The figure stands beside a trophy of arms, evidently German. It has the inscription PRINC(ipi) IVVENT(utis): "to the Prince of the Youth." This coin was evidently struck to commemorate the termination of the German war, and also the election of Commodus to the dignity of "*Princeps Juventutis*."

The second specimen exhibits the vanity of the emperor, who appears in the character of Hercules, probably in honour of some occasion when he compelled a large supply of corn to be brought from Africa, for distribution among the Roman

populace, which the inscription of the reverse may perhaps refer to.

The obverse bears a laureated portrait of the emperor, with the neck bare and the beard carefully dressed: the inscription is L(ucius) AEL(ius) AVREL(ius) COMM(odus) AVG(ustus) P(ius) FEL(ix): "Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus Augustus Pius Felix." The type of the reverse is, the Emperor, *nudus*, in the character of Hercules, with his foot on the prow of a vessel and with a club in his left hand, leaning against a rock. On the opposite side is an elegant female figure, attired in long robes, who (by the lion at her feet and the elephant's trunk on her head) evidently personates Africa. She is in the act of presenting to the emperor a bunch of wheat ears. This type is surrounded by the legend PROVIDENTIAE. AVG(usti): "to the foresight (or providential care) of Augustus." On the exergue is S(enatus) C(onsulto), by decree of the senate.

The types and legends of the third example refer to the victories of Alpius Marcellus in Britain, A.D. 144. The obverse bears the laurelled head of the emperor, the hair, beard, and mustachios, curled, with the neck bare: it has the inscription M(arcus) COMMODVS ANTON(inus) AVG(ustus) P(ius) BRIT(annicus): "Marcus Commodus Antoninus Augustus Pius Britannicus." The type of the reverse is an elegant winged Victory, naked to the waist, bearing a long palm branch in her right hand, and seated on a pile of shields. The execution of this reverse is excellent, being equal to anything in the whole Roman series: it has the inscription, P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) VIII. IMP(erator) VII. CO(n)S(ul) III. P(ater) P(atriciae): "High Pontiff (*exercising*) the tribunitian power for the ninth time, Imperator for the seventh, and Consul for the fourth." On the exergue is VICT(oria) BRIT(annica): "the victory in Britain."

Coins bearing the portrait of Crispina, the wife of Commodus, are common in all metals and sizes except small bronze. The types of the reverses are various, and most commonly Venus, Felicitas, Salus, Lætitia, and even Pudicitia, which latter was as inapplicable to the beautiful empress of Commodus as to her predecessors the Faustinas.

PERTINAX, FROM JANUARY TO MARCH, 193 A.D.

Publius Helvius Pertinax, son of a freedman who followed the trade of selling wood and charcoal, was born in Liguria, A.D. 126: he at first followed the trade of his father, but afterwards set up a grammar school at Rome, and, lastly, entered the army, where his talents and bravery raised him gradually to the highest rank: he served with great success in Syria and Britain, and at the death of Commodus was prætor of Rome, where he was chosen Emperor—a title he accepted with the greatest reluctance. After a short reign of about eighty days, he was killed in a mutiny of the soldiers, March, 193 A.D.

Some short reigns have been, as we have seen, productive of abundant coinages; but that of Pertinax does not appear to have been so, for his coins, in all metals and sizes, are of great rarity, and in some none exist. The following is a description of one of his coins of the first bronze series:—

The type of the obverse is a venerable laureated head of Pertinax, with curly hair, thick mustachios, and flowing beard, with IMP(erator) CAES(ar) P(ublius) HELV(ius) PERTINAX AVG(ustus): “the Emperor Cæsar Publius Helvius Pertinax Augustus.” The type of the reverse is a robed female, standing with a pair of scales in her right hand, and in her left is a cornucopia. This reverse has the legend: AEQVIT(as) AVG(usti) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) CO(n)S(ul) II.: “the equity of Augustus, (*exercising*) the tribunitian power, Consul for the second time.”

Some of the scarce gold coins of Pertinax are extremely beautiful, especially the specimen with the portrait resembling the head of Socrates, in the British Museum.

There are no Latin coins of his profligate wife Titiana, or of his son Pertinax the younger, though a few Alexandrian coins of the former exist, and also one struck at Lesbos.

JULIANUS DIDIVS, FROM MARCH TO JUNE, 193 A.D.

This unfortunate monarch, born at Milan, A.D. 133, was brought up in the court of Marcus Aurelius. He was the colleague of Pertinax in his first Consulship. Upon the

murder of Pertinax, he "bought" the empire of the soldiers of the Prætorian Guard, and, after a short reign of sixty days, was executed by order of the senate, May, 193 A.D.

The coins of Didius, of every class, are very rare; the specimen of large bronze about to be described being one of only three specimens cited in the interesting catalogue from which most of my examples of the series have been taken.

The obverse has a laurelled head of Julianus, with trimmed hair, mustachios, and beard, bare neck, and the legend, IMP(erator) CAES(ar) M(arcus) DID(ius) SEVER(us) IVLIAN(us) AVG(ustus): "the Emperor Cæsar Marcus Didius Severus Augustus."

The type of the reverse is a female figure holding a splendid military ensign in each hand, with CONCORD(ia) MILIT(um): "the concord of the soldiers, or the army." There are coins (also extremely rare) of Manlia Scantilla and Didia Clara, the wife and daughter of the unfortunate purchaser of the Roman empire.

PESCENNIUS NIGER, 193 TO 195 A.D.

This ephemeral emperor held the imperial power in the East from 193 to 195 A.D. Caius Pescennius Niger was descended from a family of poor estate of the equestrian order; but making his way in the army, he eventually found himself governor of Syria, at the time of the death of Didius. He was tempted by his popularity with the Eastern legions to assume the purple, and was defeated and slain near Antioch, by Septimus Severus.

The coins of Pescennius Niger, with those of Otho, were the rarities sighed for by Addison and the antiquarians of his day, and alluded to in Pope's poem, addressed to Addison, on the publication of his well-known work on medals. No coins of Roman mintage are known of this ephemeral emperor; the unique gold coin which formerly enriched the great French collection, being supposed to be a forgery, and the denarii with later legends, are evidently of the mintage of Antioch. The large bronze of Greek Imperial mintage described in the catalogue for which we are already indebted for so many examples, has the head of Niger with the inscription, ΑΤΤ. Κ. Γ. ΠΕΣΚ. ΝΙΓΡΟΣ ΙΟΥΣΤΟΣ.

CEB. being an abbreviated form of "The Emperor Cæsar Caius Pescennius Niger Justus Augustus." *

The reverse has the inscription, CAESAREAE GERMANICAE, which is also in Greek, as KAICAPEIAC ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΗC, the type being Æsculapius, with the mystic staff and serpent. This type only seems to occupy the reverse of this coin, like many others on the Greek imperial series, because Æsculapius was worshipped at Cæsarea-Germanica in Commagene, where the coin was struck.

ALBINUS, 193 TO 197 A.D.

Albinus held imperial power in part of the empire from 193 to 197 A.D. He became one of the competitors for the purple after the death of Didius; and Septimus Severus, until he had crushed Niger in the East, affected to make Albinus his colleague, and caused money to be struck with his effigy. But no sooner was Niger crushed, than the arms of the successful emperor were turned against Albinus; and his fate was decided on the plains of Tinurtium, near Lugdunum, the modern Lyons, in Gaul, where, after a sanguinary and well-contested battle, in which he was bravely supported by the British legions, that unfortunate leader was defeated; when he put an end to his own existence.

The coins of this quasi-emperor are found in all metals and sizes, except small brass, but they are rare, and consequently expensive to purchase.

SEPTIMUS SEVERUS, FROM 193 TO 211.

Lucius Septimus Severus was born at Leptis-Magna, in Africa, A.D. 146. He first entered the senate in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and was by him appointed governor of Sardinia. He was chosen to the consulship in 171, and, in the reigns of Commodus and Pertinax, governed Pannonia and Illyria. On the death of Didius he became one of the three competitors for the empire, and after overcoming his two rivals, became sole emperor in 197 A.D. After a reign of nearly eighteen years, he died at Eboracum (York), in Britain, in the year 211 A.D., in the sixty-sixth year of his

* See chapter on Imperial Greek coins and their inscriptions.

age. The first large bronze coin about to be described, was, as may be seen by the inscription, evidently struck on the eighth celebration of the secular games in 204 A.D., which, from political disturbances had not taken place for 116 years, thus confirming the statements of Herodias and Zosimus.

The type of the obverse is a bold and characteristic laureated head of the emperor, with SEPT(imus) SEVERVS PIVS AVG(ustus): "Septimus Severus Pius Augustus." The types of the reverse are figures of Severus and his two sons, in sacerdotal robes, sacrificing at an altar before a large temple: on the left is a Tibicen playing a double flute, and on the right a musician playing a lyre. The female figures in the centre join hands over the altar. The legend is SAECVLARIA; in the fore-ground is the recumbent personification of the Tiber, and on the exergue SACRA. and S(enatus) C(onsulto).

The next refers to, and commemorates, the successful termination of the unfortunate campaign in Britain, in which Severus lost 50,000 men from incessant fatigue and the harassing attacks of the Caledonians, numbers having perished in the marshes of that country, the passes of which they were unacquainted with.

The obverse of this coin has a fine expressive profile of the emperor, with the laurel wreath and bare neck, and the inscription, L(ucius) SEPT(imus) SEVERVS PIVS AVG(ustus): "Lucius Septimus Severus Pius Augustus."

The type of the reverse is, two winged Victories holding a shield against a palm-tree, at the foot of which are two Britons, or rather Caledonians, and a group of captives and military trophies. The legend is VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE: "to the British victories."

Coins struck in honour of Julia Domna, the empress of Septimus Severus, are plentiful in silver, and large and middle bronze, but rare in other metals and classes. The portraits indicate a woman of about thirty years of age, with fine features, and a serene expression. Her hair is elaborately dressed.

CARACALLA AND GETA, FROM 211 TO 217 A.D.

These two princes were born in the years 188 and 190 A.D. They attended their father, Septimus Severus, on his expedition into Britain in 205 A.D., and on his death, in 211, they succeeded jointly to the throne, and reigned together till 212, when Caracalla murdered Geta, it is said, with his own hand, and in his mother's arms. After a reign of seven years, in which he committed every species of infamy incident to unbridled tyranny, Caracalla was himself assassinated by Macrinus. His name was originally Bassianus; but in consequence of a dream, his father caused him to assume the names of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, by which names he is known upon the coins struck in his reign. The surname or rather nickname Caracalla, which he received from wearing a peculiar Gaulish garment, never appears on the public money.

Specimens of his coinage of first bronze, second bronze, and silver, are abundant, with various types, as are the Greek Imperial, and colonial; but the gold is scarce.

The specimen of first bronze about to be described, appears, from the date of the tribunitian power, to have been struck in 213 A.D., or after his expedition against the Catti and Allemanni.

The *obverse* of this coin bears a laureated portrait of the emperor, the countenance is gloomy and ferocious, and the inscription, M(arcus) AVREL(ius) ANTONINVS PIVS AVG(ustus) BRIT(annicus): "Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus Britannicus." The type of the *reverse* is the emperor seated in a triumphal car, drawn by four horses, as in a consular procession. He holds the reins in the right hand, and a sceptre surmounted by an eagle in the left. A graceful winged Victory hovers above his head, in the act of placing a crown. It has the legend, P(ontifex M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) XVI. IMP(erator) II.

The attempts of Caracalla to destroy the traces of his murdered brother's memory have proved ineffectual, for coins of Geta exist in abundance of all sizes and metals, and those of silver and second bronze are very common. The surname of "Lucius" appears on his coins previous to

205 A.D. ; but, except on a few Imperial Greek coins, it is afterwards discontinued—the names generally running Publius Septimus Geta Cæsar.

MACRINUS, FROM 217 TO 218 A.D.

Marcus Opelius Macrinus was born in Mauretania, of obscure parents, 164 A.D. He entered public life as steward to Plautian, Caracalla's favourite. On the fall of Plautian, he was banished for a time to Africa ; on his return whence, he gradually rose to be Prætorian Præfect. Being taunted with cowardice by Caracalla, he procured the assassination of the tyrant. Remaining for a time unsuspected, he was by the soldiers proclaimed emperor in 217 A.D. In an attempt to regulate the abuses of the army in the following year, a revolt broke out, which ended in his defeat and death, in the year 218 A.D.

There was a copious Roman mintage during this short reign, yet all the coins of Macrinus are rare, except the silver and middle bronze. The coins struck in his honour in Greece and Egypt are also somewhat rare.

The example of the large bronze coinage of this reign, described below, appears to have been struck after Macrinus had purchased a shameful peace with the Parthians, for which he was decreed a Roman triumph, and a coinage, with the inscription, VICTORIA PARTHICA, &c. The inscription on the reverse of the present coin appears to refer to the safety which Macrinus thought was ensured by the Parthian arrangement.

The type of the *obverse* is the laurelled profile of Macrinus, with IMP(erator) CAES(ar) M(arcus) OPEL(ius) SEV(erus) MACRINVS AVG(ustus): "the Emperor Cæsar Marcus Opelius Severus Macrinus Augustus."

The *reverse* bears a female figure, in full robes, resting against a column in a singularly graceful attitude, with the hasta pura in her right hand. The inscription is SECVRITAS TEMPORVM: "the security of the times."

There are coins of Diadumenianus, the son of Macrinus, in nearly all metals and classes of the Roman coinage except small bronze, but the devices are not various or interesting.

HELIOGABALUS, FROM 218 TO 222 A.D.

Varius Avitus Bassianus, son of Julia Mammæa, the daughter of Mæsa, and niece of Julia Domna, wife of Severus, was born at Emesa, 205 A.D. He was declared emperor by the Legions of Syria, 218 A.D. On his accession to the throne the servile senate expressed a hope that he might prove "like Caracalla!" and he shortly after exceeded that monster in gluttony, lust, and inhumanity. He was murdered, together with his mother, in 222 A.D.

There are coins of Heliogabalus of nearly every class both of Roman colonial and Greek Imperial mintage, but none are common except the Roman silver and middle bronze. As he assumed the same names as Caracalla, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish his coins from those of that emperor; but Eckhel gives a series of rules to distinguish them—such as that, the portraits of Caracalla appear older,—the abbreviated appellation PART. MAX., or BRIT. or GERM., can only belong to Caracalla, &c.

The reverse of some coins of Heliogabalus, or Elagabalus, represents a triumphal car guarded by an eagle, on which is the famous stone god, called *El Gabal* (the stone) a conical stone worshipped in Syria, for which he built a temple, and established a public worship at Rome. It is from this stone deity that he took his surname of Heliogabalus. The following description relates to a coin on which his dignity as priest of the sun is commemorated.

The type of the obverse is a laurelled head of the emperor, with the inscription, IMP(erator) CAES(ar) M(arcus) AVR(elius) ANTONINVS PIVS AVG(ustus). "The Emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus."

The reverse has for type, the emperor in his oriental robes, richly ornamented with jewels, standing by a decorated altar, from which rises a flame. Holding a patera in his right hand, he bears a palm branch in his left. This reverse has the legend, SACERDOS DEI SOLIS ELAGAB(ali). "To Elagabalus the priest of the god of the sun." In the field is, S(enatus) C(onsulto), and a star.

The coins struck in this infamous reign in honour of Aquileia Severa, a vestal virgin whom Heliogabalus had forced

to become his wife, are found in several metals, but they are all rare except the middle bronze, which are also far from common; the Imperial Greek, the colonial, and Egyptian also bear high prices if in good condition.

The portraits of Annia Faustina, another wife of Heliogabalus, and a grand-daughter of Marcus Aurelius, are found on coins struck in her honour, in gold, silver, and large bronze, though excessively rare. The Greek and Egyptian colonial coins with portraits of this personage are also very rare.

Coins of this reign, with the portrait of Julia Mammæa, are also found, of nearly all metals and all classes, but all very rare. There are coins also struck in honour of Julia Mæsa, the sister of Julia Domna, and consequently great-aunt to Heliogabalus. The features of this personage, though well stricken in years, are yet fine. These latter coins are numerous in almost all metals and classes except gold.

ALEXANDER, FROM 222 TO 235 A.D.

Bassianus Alexandrianus, the son of Julia Mammæa, another daughter of Mæsa, was born in Phœnicia, A.D. 205. He was adopted by Heliogabalus in 221, and the servile senate issued a decree declaring him his real offspring. He ascended the throne 222 A.D., and was murdered by the Prætorian guards in the year 235 A.D., in the thirtieth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign, during which the military successes of the Romans were considerable.

There are coins of this prince in all the metals and in all classes of coin. The large and middle bronze are generally common. He occupied himself especially in reforming the abuses of the mint, and the legend "MONETA RESTITUTA" on many of his coins refers to that event. About this period the sestertius, or first bronze, begins perceptibly to diminish in magnitude, and public events are less fully recorded, while the duties, and moral virtues now appear more frequently on the reverse, as the principal type. The large medallion struck in his honour by the Perinthians with the twelve signs of the zodiac, &c., is a remarkable monument.

The coin of the first bronze series described below appears to refer, by the *decennialian* vow, to some advantage gained

over Artaxerxes, the restorer of the Persian monarchy, on the fall of that of the Parthians.

The obverse of this coin has a laureated portrait of the emperor, with the neck bare, and the inscription IMP(erator) SEV(erus) ALEXANDER AVG(ustus).

The reverse bears a winged Victory, inscribing VOT(a) X. (the decennialian vow) on a buckler which is placed against a palm tree. She has her left foot upon an helmet, with VICTORIA AVGVSTI, "the victory of Augustus." S(enatus) C(onsulto) is found in the field.

Orbiana, or rather Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, is generally understood to have been the third wife of Alexander Severus. There are both Greek and Alexandrian medals of this princess; but none are known of colonial mintage. She is represented with small but pretty features, and appearing about twenty years of age. The inscription, CONCORDIA AUGUSTORUM, on the reverses of her coins, is thought to refer to the harmony which subsisted between the emperor and empress.

Of Julia Mammæa, the mother of Alexander Severus, there are also coins: those in silver, and large and middle brass, are rare, but the other medals, and those of Greek Imperial and Egyptian mintage, are less so. One of the reverses has the inscription, JUNO CONSERVATRIX, in allusion to the prudence by which she preserved her son from the snares of Heliogabalus.

MAXIMINUS, FROM 235 TO 238 A.D.

Caius Julius Verus Maximinus, was the son of Micca and Abala, the former a Goth and the latter an Alan. He first attracted the notice of Septimus Severus from his enormous strength, which he exhibited in some extraordinary feats on the birth-day of Geta. He continued in favour during the reign of Caracalla, and was raised to the senatorial dignity by Alexander, who also employed him in reforming the army; but this post giving him great influence with the soldiers, so stimulated his ambition, that, after causing the murder of his benefactor, he ascended the throne in the year 235 A.D. After a turbulent reign of exactly three years, he was himself assassinated by his soldiers, in 238 A.D.

On his elevation to the throne he assumed the names Caius Julius Verus, and also the titles Invictus, Fortissimus, and Nobilissimus, while the senate greeted him with the titles Germanicus, Dacicus, and Sarmaticus. His parasites complimented his savage courage and amazing strength by adding to his assumed surnames those of Hercules, Achilles, Antæus, Ajax, and Milo. His height was above eight feet, and his whole frame was upon such a vast scale that his wife's bracelet served him for a thumb-ring—facts expressly stated by the historian Capitolinus. His Roman coins have simply the name Maximinus: the colonial ones have the prefix Julius, and the Greek Imperial bear the names Caius Julius Verus Maximus. His coins are far from rare; the denarii and the large and middle brass being the most common. The specimen of his first bronze, described below, was probably struck on the occasion of his receiving the consulship, the reverse referring, probably, to the consular procession. The Victory alludes, perhaps, to his being engaged in a foreign war at the time of his assumption of the purple. The obverse has a bold portrait of Maximin, with large features and wrinkled forehead, with IMP(erator) MAXIMVS. PIVS. AVG(ustus): "the Emperor Maximinus Pius Augustus." The reverse represents the emperor, in a triumphal car, in the act of being crowned by a winged Victory: he holds a laurel in one hand and an eagle in the other, a badge of command which was continued till the Eastern emperor Phocas, substituted the holy cross. The legend is P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) II. CO(n)S(ul) P(ater) P(atriciae),—"High Pontiff (*exercising*) the tribunitian power for the second time, Consul, father of the country."

The wife of Maximus, Paulina, appears to have died during the short reign of her husband, and there are coins of silver and large brass of Roman mintage struck in honour of her consecration and apotheosis. The portrait is that of an intelligent woman in middle age. The reverses of some coins represent her borne upward by an eagle; others, as drawn in a car by prancing horses, and bearing a torch, intended to compliment the empress in the character of Luna Lucifera, as one of the deities styled "Dii Selecti."





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